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HERODOTUS

II

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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HON, FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

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BOOKS III AND IV



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HERODOTUS' narrative in the Third Book of his history is extremely discursive and episodic. It may be briefly summarised as follows:—

Chapters 1 to 38 deal in the main with Cambyses. They relate the Persian invasion and conquest of Egypt, Cambyses' abortive expedition against the Ethiopians, and the sacrilegious and cruel acts of the last part of his reign. The section 38-60 begins with an account of Polycrates of Samos, and his relations with Amasis of Egypt, and continues with a narrative of Polycrates' war against his banished subjects. The fact that these latter were aided not only by Spartans but by Corinthians serves to introduce the story of the domestic feuds of Periander, despot of Corinth. Chapter 61 resumes the story of Cambyses; the Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, Cambyses' death, the counterplot against and ultimate overthrow of the pseudo-Smerdis and his brother by seven Persian conspirators, and the accession of Darius-all this is narrated with much

picturesque and dramatic detail in twenty-eight chapters (61–88). Then follows a list of Darius' tributary provinces (88–97), supplemented by various unconnected details relating to Arabia and India (98–117). The next thirty-two chapters (118–149) narrate various events in the early part of Darius' reign: the fate of Polycrates of Samos; the insolence and death of his murderer Oroetes; how Democedes, a Samian physician, rose to power at the Persian court and was sent with a Persian commission to reconnoitre Greek coasts; how Polycrates' brother Syloson regained with Persian help the sovereignty of Samos. Lastly, chapters 150–160 describe the revolt and second capture of Babylon.

Book IV begins with the intention of describing Darius' invasion of Scythia, and the subject of more than two-thirds of the book is Scythian geography and history. Chapters 1–15 deal with the legendary origin of the Scythians; 16–31, with the population of the country and the climate of the far north; this leads to a disquisition on the Hyperboreans and their alleged commerce with the Aegean (32–36), and (37–45) a parenthetic section, showing the relation to each other of Europe, Asia, and Libya. The story of a circumnavigation of Libya forms part of this section. Chapters 46–58 enumerate the rivers of Scythia, and 59–82 describe its manners and customs.

Darius' passage of the Hellespont and the Danube is

narrated in chapters 83–98. Chapters 99–117 are once more parenthetic, describing first the general outline of Scythia, and next giving some details as to neighbouring tribes, with the story of the Amazons. From 118 to 144 Herodotus professes to relate the movements of the Persian and Scythian armies, till Darius returns to the Danube and thence to Asia again.

The Libyan part of the book begins at 145. Twenty-three chapters (145-167) give the history of Cyrene, its colonisation from Greece and the fortunes of its rulers till the time of Darius, when it was brought into contact with Persia by the appeal of its exiled queen Pheretime to the Persian governor of Egypt, who sent an army to recover Cyrene for her. The thirty-two following chapters (168-199) are a detailed description of Libya: 168-180, the Libyan seaboard from Egypt to the Tritonian lake; 181-190, the sandy ridge inland stretching (according to Herodotus) from Thebes in Egypt to the Atlas; 191-199, in the main, Libya west of the "Tritonian lake." At chapter 200 the story of Pheretime is resumed and the capture of Barce described. The book ends with the death of Pheretime and the disastrous return to Egypt of her Persian allies.

The above brief abstract shows that Book IV, at least, is full of geography and ethnology. It is, I believe, generally held that Herodotus himself

visited the Cyrenaica and the northern coasts of the Black Sea, where the Greek commercial centre was the "port of the Borysthenites," later called Olbia; but there is no real evidence for or against such visits. The point is not very important. If he did not actually go to Cyrene or Olbia he must at least have had opportunities of conversing with Greeks resident in those places. These, the only informants whose language he could understand, no doubt supplied him with more or less veracious descriptions of the "hinterlands" of their cities; and possibly there may have been some documentary evidencerecords left by former travellers. Whatever Herodotus' authorities-and they must have been highly miscellaneous-they take him farther and farther afield, to the extreme limits of knowledge or report.

As Herodotus in description or speculation approaches what he supposes to be the farthest confines of north and south, it is natural that he should also place on record his conception of the geography of the world—a matter in which he professes himself to be in advance of the ideas current in his time. There were already, it would appear, maps in those days. According to Herodotus, they divided the world into three equal parts—Europe, Asia, Libya; the whole surrounded by the "Ocean," which was still apparently imagined, as in Homer, to be a "river" into which ships could sail from the sea known to the Greeks. Possibly, as has been

suggested by moderns, this idea of an encircling river may have originated in the fact that to north, south, and east great rivers ran in the farthest lands known to Greeks: the Nile in the south (and if it could be made to run partly from west to east, so much the better for the belief that it was a boundary), the Danube in the north, the Euphrates in the east; in the west, of course, the untravelled waters outside the "Pillars of Hercules" fitted into the scheme. But whether the legend of an encircling stream had a rational basis or not, Herodotus will have none of it. The Greeks, he says, believe the world to be surrounded by the Ocean; but they cannot prove it. The thing, to him, is ridiculous; as is also the neat tripartite division of the world into three continents of equal extent. His own scheme is different. Taking the highlands of Persia as a base, he makes Asia a peninsula stretching westward, and Libya another great peninsula south-westward; northward and alongside of the two is the vast tract called Europe. This latter, in his view, is beyond comparison bigger than either Asia or Libya; its length from east to west is at least equal to the length of the other two together; and while there are at least traditions of the circumnavigation of Libya, and some knowledge of seas to the south and east of Asia, Europe stretches to the north in tracts of illimitable distance, the very absence of any tale of a northern boundary tending in itself to prove

enormous extent. The lands north and south of the Mediterranean have each its great river; and Herodotus has already in the Second Book endeavoured to show that there is a kind of correspondence between the Nile and the Danube. He, too, like the geographers with whom he disagrees, is obsessed, in the absence of knowledge, by a desire for symmetry. The Nile, he is convinced, flows for a long way across the country of the Ethiopians from west to east before it makes a bend to the north and flows thus through Egypt. So the Danube, too. rises in the far west of Europe, in the country of "Pyrene"; and as the Nile eventually turns and flows northward, so the Danube, after running for a long way eastward, makes an abrupt turn southward to flow into the Black Sea. Thus the Mediterranean countries, southern Europe and northern Africa, are made to lie within what the two riverstheir mouths being regarded as roughly "opposite" to each other, in the same longitude-make into a sort of interrupted parallelogram.

Such is the scheme of the world with which Herodotus incidentally presents us. But his real concern in the Fourth Book is with the geography of Libya and Scythia—northern Africa and southern Russia; in both cases the description is germane to his narrative, its motive being, in each, a Persian expedition into the country.

Critics of the Odyssey have sometimes been at

pains to distinguish its "inner" from its "outer" geography—the inner true and real, the outer a world of mere invention and fairy tale. There is no such distinction really; Greeks do not invent fairy tales; there are simply varying degrees of certitude. Greek geographical knowledge contemporaneous with the composition of the Odyssey being presumably confined within very narrow limits, the frontiers of the known are soon passed, and the poet launches out into a realm not of invention, but of reality dimly and imperfectly apprehended-a world of hearsay and travellers' tales, no doubt adorned in the Homeric poem with the colours of poetry. Homer is giving the best that he knows of current information-not greatly troubled in his notices of remote countries by inconsistencies, as when he describes Egypt once as a four or five days' sail from Crete, yet again as a country so distant that even a bird will take more than a year to reach it. Herodotus' method is as human and natural as Homer's. Starting, of course, from a very much wider extent of geographical knowledge, he passes from what he has seen to what he knows at first hand from Cyrenaean or Borysthenite evidence; thence into more distant regions, about which his informants have been told; and so on, the accuracy of his statements obviously diminishing (and not guaranteed by himself) as the distance increases, till at last in farthest north-farthest, that is, with the

possible exception of "Hyperboreans," about whom nobody knows anything—he is in the country of the griffins who guard gold and pursue the one-eyed Arimaspian; and in the south, among the men who have no heads, and whose eyes are in their breasts.

It happens sometimes that the stories which have reached Herodotus from very distant lands and seas, and which he duly reports without necessarily stating his belief in them, do in truth rest on a basis of actual fact. Thus one of the strongest arguments for the truth of the story of a circumnavigation of Libya is the detail, mentioned but not believed by Herodotus, that the sailors, when sailing west at the extreme limit of their voyage, saw the sun on their right hand. Thus also the story of Hyperborean communication with Delos is entirely in harmony with ascertained fact. Whatever be the meaning of "Hyperborean," a term much discussed by the learned (Herodotus certainly understands the name to mean "living beyond the north wind"), the people so named must be located in northern Europe; and the Delos story, however imaginative in its details, does at least illustrate the known existence of trade routes linking the northern parts of our continent with the Aegean. To such an extent Herodotus' tales of the uttermost parts of the earth are informative. But with such exceptions, as one would naturally expect, it is true that as a

general rule the farther from home Herodotus is the farther also he is from reality.

It follows from this that in proportion as Herodotus' narrative of events is distant from the Greek world and his possible sources of information, so much the more is it full, for us, of geographical difficulties. It is probable that, as he tells us, "Scythians" did at some time or other invade the Black Sea coasts and dispossess an earlier population of "Cimmerians," whom, perhaps, they pursued into Asia. The bare fact may be so; but Herodotus' description of the way in which it happened cannot be reconciled with the truths of geography. The whole story is confused; the Cimmerians could not have fled along the coast of the Black Sea, as stated by Herodotus; it would, apparently, have been a physical impossibility. In such cases the severer school of critics were sometimes tempted to dismiss an entire narrative as a parcel of lies. More charitable, moderns sometimes do their best to bring the historian's detailed story into some sort of harmony with the map, by emendation of the text or otherwise. But if the former method was unjust, the latter is wasted labour. There is surely but one conclusion to draw, and a very obvious one: that Herodotus was misinformed as to geographical conditions. Ignorance lies at the root of the matter. Herodotus had not the geographical equipment for describing the movements of tribes on the north

coast of the Black Sea, any more than our best authorities of sixty years ago had for describing tribal wanderings in Central Africa.

Even worse difficulties would confront the enterprising critic who should attempt to deal with Darius' marchings and counter-marchings in Scythia as matter for serious investigation. Herodotus' story is, with regard to its details of time, plainly incredible; a great army could not conceivably have covered anything like the alleged distance in the alleged time. It must, apparently, be confessed that there are moments when the Father of History is supra geographiam—guilty of disregarding it when he did, as appears from other parts of the Fourth Book, know something of Scythian distances. The disregard may be explained, if not excused. Herodotus is seldom proof against the attractions of a Moral Tale. Given an unwieldy army of invaders, vis consili expers, and those invaders the natural enemies of Hellas,—and given also the known evasive tactics of Scythian warfare,—there was obviously a strong temptation to make a picturesque narrative, in which overweening power should be tricked, baffled, and eventually saved only by a hair's breadth from utter destruction at a supremely dramatic moment. So strong, we may suppose, was the temptation that Herodotus put from him considerations of time and distance, in the probably not unjustified expectation that his Greek readers or

hearers would not trouble themselves much about such details. In short, it must be confessed that Herodotus' reputation as a serious historian must rest on other foundations than his account of Darius Scythian campaign.¹

Herodotus' list of the tribute-paving divisions of the Persian Empire is not a geographical document. Obviously it is drawn from some such source as the three extant inscriptions (at Behistun, Persepolis, and Naksh-i-Rustam) in which Darius enumerated the constituent parts of his empire; but it differs from these in that the numerical order of the units is not determined by their local position. It has indeed geographical importance in so far as the grouping of tribes for purposes of taxation naturally implies their local vicinity; but it is in no sense a description of the various units under Darius' rule; nor can we even infer that these districts and groups of districts are in all cases separate "satrapies" or governorships. That, apparently, is precluded by the occasional association of countries which could not have formed a single governorship, for instance. the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, and Arii, who compose the sixteenth district; while the Bactrians and Sacae, belonging here to separate tax-paying

¹ For a detailed discussion of the various problems suggested by Book IV the reader is referred to the long and elaborate Introduction to Dr. Macan's edition of Herodotus, Books IV, V, VI.

units, appear in other passages in Herodotus as subjects of a single satrapy. What the historian gives us in Book III is simply a statistical list of Darius' revenues and the sources from which they were drawn.

HERODOTUS BOOK III

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Г

1. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἄμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ῆρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. πέμψας Καμβύσης ές Αίγυπτον κήρυκα αἴτες "Αμασιν θυγατέρα, αἴτες δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αίγυπτίου, δς μεμφόμενος "Αμασιν έπρηξε ταθτα ότι μιν έξ άπάντων των έν Αίγύπτω ίητρων άποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον έποίησε ές Πέρσας, ότε Κύρος πέμψας παρά "Αμασιν αἴτεε ἰητρον ὀφθαλμῶν δς εἴη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτω. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνῆγε τῆ συμβουλῆ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεα "Αμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δοὺς άνιῶτο ἡ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύση ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ "Αμασις τη δυνάμι των Περσέων άχθόμενος καὶ άρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι εὖ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὡς γυναῖκά μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης έξειν άλλ' ώς παλλακήν. ταῦτα δὴ έκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Απρίεω τοῦ προ-τέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὖειδης μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὔνομα δέ οἱ

BOOK III

1. It was against this Amasis that Cambyses led an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them. 1 This was his reason: Cambyses sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; and this he did by the counsel of a certain Egyptian, who devised it by reason of a grudge that he bore against Amasis, because when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt the king had chosen this man out of all the Egyptian physicians and sent him perforce to Persia away from his wife and children. With this grudge in mind he moved Cambyses by his counsel to ask Amasis for his daughter, that Amasis might be grieved if he gave her, or Cambyses' enemy if he refused her. So Amasis was sorely afraid of the power of Persia, and could neither give his daughter nor deny her; for he knew well that Cambyses would make her not his queen but his mistress. Reasoning thus he bethought him of a very tall and fair damsel called Nitetis, daughter of the former king Apries, and all that was left of that

¹ The received date is 525 B.C.

ην Νίτητις· ταύτην δη την παίδα ο "Αμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθητί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὡς μιν ἠσπάζετο πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παίς "Ω βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ 'Αμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις. δς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῆ ἀληθείῃ 'Απρίεω, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε." τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα

έπ' Αίγυπτον.

2. Οῦτω μέν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεα, φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς 'Απρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι' Κῦρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ "Αμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὖτις δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς 'Αχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. ἀλλὰ παρατράπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιεύμενοι τῆ Κύρου οἰκίη συγγενέες εἶναι.

3. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναίκας, ὡς εἶδε τῆ Κασσανδάνη παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῷ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε. "Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα

family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, "King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew." It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

2. This is the Persian story. But the Egyptians claim Cambyses for their own; they say that he was the son of this daughter of Apries, and that it was Cyrus, not Cambyses, who sent to Amasis for his daughter. But this tale is false. Nay, they are well aware (for the Egyptians have a truer knowledge than any men of the Persian law) firstly, that no bastard may be king of Persia if there be a son born in lawful wedlock; and secondly, that Cambyses was born not of the Egyptian woman but of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid. But they so twist the story because they would claim kinship with the house of Cyrus.

3. So much for this matter. There is another tale too, which I do not believe :- that a certain Persian lady came to visit Cyrus' wives, and greatly praised and admired the fair and tall children who stood by Cassandane. Then Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said, "Ay, yet though I be the mother of such children

ἐοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῷ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῷ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα "Τοιγάρ τοι ὧ μῆτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνήρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω." ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δή, ἐπείτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιή-

σασθαι την έπ' Αίγυπτον στρατηίην.

4. Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ άλλο τι τοιόνδε πρήγμα γενέσθαι ές την επιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ήν των έπικούρων 'Αμάσιος άνηρ γένος μεν 'Αλικαρνησσεύς, ούνομα δέ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ίκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ άλκιμος. οὖτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Αμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλοίφ ἐξ Λίγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύση έλθειν ές λόγους. οία δέ έόντα αὐτὸν έν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ έπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ "Αμασις σπουδην ποιεύμενος έλειν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν, δς αίρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίη, έλων δε ούκ ανήγαγε ές Αίγυπτον σοφίη γάρ μιν περιήλθε ο Φάνης καταμεθύσας γάρ τούς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὁρμημένφ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύση ἐπ' Λίγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι την έλασιν, ὅκως την ἄνυδρον διεκπερά, έπελθων φράζει μεν καὶ τὰ άλλα τὰ 'Αμάσιος πρήγματα, εξηγέεται δε και την έλασιν, ώδε παραινέων, πέμλαντα παρά του 'Αραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι την διέξοδόν οι ασφαλέα παρασχείν.

5. Μούνη δε ταύτη είσι φανεραί έσβολαί ές

BOOK III. 3-5

Cyrus dishonours me and honours this newcomer from Egypt." So she spoke in her bitterness against Nitetis; and Cambyses, the eldest of her sons, said, "Then, mother, when I am grown a man, I will turn all Egypt upside down." When he said this he was about ten years old, and the women marvelled at him; but he kept it in mind, and it was thus that when he grew up and became king, he made the expedition against Egypt.

- 4. It chanced also that another thing befell tending to this expedition. There was among Amasis' foreign soldiers one Phanes, a Halicarnassian by birth, a man of sufficient judgment and valiant in war. This Phanes had some grudge against Amasis, and fled from Egypt on shipboard that he might have an audience of Cambyses. Seeing that he was a man much esteemed among the foreign soldiery and had an exact knowledge of all Egyptian matters, Amasis was zealous to take him, and sent a trireme with the trustiest of his eunuchs to pursue him. This eunuch caught him in Lycia but never brought him back to Egypt; for Phanes was too clever for him, and made his guards drunk and so escaped to Persia. There he found Cambyses prepared to set forth against Egypt, but in doubt as to his march, how he should cross the waterless desert; so Phanes showed him what was Amasis' condition and how he should march; as to this, he counselled Cambyses to send and ask the king of the Arabians for a safe passage.
 - 5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt

Αίγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ ᾿Αραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἢν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῷ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὸν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δὶς τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινὸν οὐκ ἔστι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμοῦται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὕδατος. οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

7. Οὕτω μέν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ

is this. The road runs from Phoenice as far as the city of Cadytis, which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, as it is called. From Cadytis (which, as I judge, is a city not much smaller than Sardis) to the city of Ienysus the seaports belong to the Arabians; then they are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonian marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seawards; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho, it is said, was hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days' journey, wondrous waterless.

- 6. I will now tell of a thing that but few of those who sail to Egypt have perceived. Earthen jars full of wine are brought into Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenice besides: yet there is not to be seen, so to say, one single wine jar lying anywhere in the country. What then (one may ask) becomes of them? This too I will tell. Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and take them to Memphis, and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to those waterless lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and sold there is carried to Syria to join the stock whence it came.
- 7. Now as soon as the Persians took possession of Egypt, it was they who thus provided for the entry

1 Probably Gaza.

Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and "buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.

τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ 'Αλικαρνησσέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν 'Αράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ

δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

8. Σέβονται δὲ ᾿Αράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοίσι μάλιστα, ποιεύνται δε αὐτὰς τρόπω τοιῷδε· των βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι άλλος ἀνήρ, άμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσφ ἐστεώς, λίθφ ὀξέι τὸ έσω των γειρών παρά τούς δακτύλους τούς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ έπειτα λαβών έκ τοῦ ίματίου έκατέρου κροκύδα άλείφει τῷ αίματι ἐν μέσω κειμένους λίθους ἐπτά. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ την Ούρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ της πίστις ποιησάμενος τοίσι φίλοισι παρεγγυά τον ξείνον ή και τον άστον, ήν προς άστον ποιέηται· οί δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιεῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Ο ερανίην ήγεονται είναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρήν κείρεσθαι φασί κατά περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόυυσον κεκάρθαι κείρονται δέ περιτρόχαλα, ύποξυρώντες τους κροτάφους. ονομάζουσι δε τον μεν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλτ, την δε Ουρανίην 'Αλιλάτ.

9. Έπεὶ ὧν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμ βύσεω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ ᾿Αρά-βιος, ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἀσκοὺς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὖτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, δεῖ δὲ καὶ

into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

8. There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is the manner of their giving them :- a man stands between the two parties that would give security, and cuts with a sharp stone the palms of the hands of the parties, by the second finger; then he takes a piece of wool from the cloak of each and smears with the blood seven stones that lie between them, calling the while on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and when he has fully done this, he that gives the security commends to his friends the stranger (or his countryman if the party be such), and his friends hold themselves bound to honour the pledge. They deem none other to be gods save Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and they say that the cropping of their hair is like the cropping of the hair of Dionysus, cutting it round the head and shaving the temples. They call Dionysus, Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat.1

9. Having then pledged himself to the messengers who had come from Cambyses, the Arabian planned and did as I shall show: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded live camels with these; which done, he drove them into the waterless land and there awaited Cambyses' army. This is the most credible of the stories told; but I must relate the

¹ According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," orath el, and Alilat the feminine of helel, "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.

τὸν ἡσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεί γε δὴ λέγεται, ἑηθῆναι. ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῆ ᾿Αραβίη τῷ οὔνομα Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ οὖτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὧν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ᾿Αραβίων, ἑαψάμενον τῶν ὡμοβοέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκεϊ ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῆ ἀνύδρω μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι. ὁδὸς δ᾽ ἐστὶ δυώδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δέ μιν δι᾽ ὀχετῶν

τριών ές τριξά χωρία.

10. Έν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ ᾿Αμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. "Αμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ "Αμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηνείχθη ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῆσι ταφῆσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

11. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ΐζουτο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβα-λέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες "Ελληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι

less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, issuing into the sea called Red. From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians carried water by a duct of sewn oxhides and other hides of a length sufficient to reach to the dry country; and he had great tanks dug in that country to receive and keep the water. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to that desert. By three ducts (they say) he led the water to three several places.

- 10. Psammenitus, son of Amasis, was encamped by the mouth of the Nile called Pelusian, awaiting Cambyses. For when Cambyses marched against Egypt he found Amasis no longer alive; he had died after reigning forty-four years, in which no great misfortune had befallen him; and being dead he was embalmed and laid in the burial-place built for himself in the temple. While his son Psammenitus was king of Egypt, the people saw a most wonderful sight, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where, as the Thebans themselves say, there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt; but at that time a drizzle of rain fell at Thebes.¹
- 11. Now the Persians having crossed the waterless country and encamped near the Egyptians with intent to give battle, the foreign soldiery of the Egyptian, Greeks and Carians, devised a plan to punish Phanes,

¹ In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.

τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. ἢσαν τῷ Φάνη παίδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον, μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθεϊ

πολλών ετράποντο οί Αίγύπτιοι.

12. Θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν γὰρ ὀστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῆ μάχη ταύτη πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ ἀρχάς, ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αὶ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαί εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφω μούνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δή τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ὰν λίθω παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. τῶυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιον ἐστί· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἄν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες. ταῦτα μέν

being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

12. I saw there a strange thing, of which the people of the country had told me. The bones of those slain on either side in this fight lying scattered separately (for the Persian bones lay in one place and the Egyptian in another, where the armies had first separately stood), the skulls of the Persians are so brittle that if you throw no more than a pebble it will pierce them, but the Egyptian skulls are so strong that a blow of a stone will hardly break them. And this, the people said (which for my own part I readily believed), is the reason of it: the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. This also is the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. Their skulls then are strong for this reason; and the cause of the Persian skulls being weak is that they shelter their heads through their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear. Such is the truth of this matter. I saw

νυν τοιαθτα· είδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι τῶν ἅμα ᾿Αχαιμένεϊ τῷ Δαρείου διαφθα-

ρέντων ύπο Ἰνάρω τοῦ Λίβυος.

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, έφευγον ούδει ι κόσμω κατειληθέντων δε ές Μέμφιν, έπεμπε ανά ποταμον Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα άγουσαν άνδρα Πέρσην, ές όμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αίγυπτίους. οί έπείτε την νέα είδον έσελθοῦσαν ές την Μέμφιν, έκχυθέντες άλέες έκ τοῦ τείχεος τήν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδον διασπάσαντες έφόρεον ές τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετά τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνω παρέστησαν, οί δὲ προσεχέες Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περί την Αίγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αυτούς άμαχητί καί φόρον τε ετάξαντο καὶ δώρα έπεμπον. ώς δε Κυρηναίοι καὶ Βαρκαίοι, δείσαντες όμοίως καὶ οί Λίβυες, τοιαθτα έποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρά Λιβύων έλθόντα δώρα φιλοφρόνως έδέξατο. τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθείς, ώς έμοι δοκέει, ότι ην ολίγα έπεμψαν γάρ δη πεντακοσίας μνέας άργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ταύτας δρασσομενος αὐτοχειρίη διέσπειρε τῆ στρατιῆ.

14. Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτη ἀπ' ἡς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμη τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἔξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὰν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουληίη ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὑδρήιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως

too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

13. After their rout in the battle the Egyptians fled in disorder; and they being driven into Memphis, Cambyses sent a Persian herald up the river in a ship of Mytilene to invite them to an agreement. But when they saw the ship coming to Memphis, they sallied out all together from their walls, destroyed the ship, tore the crew asunder (like butchers) and carried them within the walls. So the Egyptians were besieged, and after a good while yielded; but the neighbouring Libyans, affrighted by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered unresisting, laying tribute on themselves and sending gifts; and so too, affrighted like the Libyans, did the people of Cyrene and Barca. Cambyses received in all kindness the gifts of the Libyans; but he seized what came from Cyrene and scattered it with his own hands among his army. This he did, as I think, to mark his displeasure at the littleness of the gift; for the Cyrenaeans had sent five hundred silver minae.

14. On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and set him down in the outer part of the city with other Egyptians, to do him despite; having so done he made trial of Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. He dressed the king's daughter in slave's attire and sent her with a vessel to fetch water, in company with other maidens dressed as she was, chosen from

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έσταλμένας τη του βασιλέος. ώς δε βοή τε καί κλαυθμῷ παρήισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οί μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ άντέκλαιον δρώντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προϊδών καὶ μαθών έκυψε ές την γην. παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δεύτερά οί τον παίδα έπεμπε μετ' άλλων Αίγυπτίων δισχιλίων την αὐτην ηλικίην ἐχόντων, τούς τε αὐχένας καλφ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους ήγοντο δε ποινήν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοίσι έν Μέμφι απολομένοισι σύν τῆ νηί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλήιοι δικασταί, ύπερ ἀνδρὸς εκάστου δεκα Αίγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων άνταπόλλυσθαι. δ δε ίδων παρεξιόντας καὶ μαθων τον παίδα ήγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, των άλλων Αίγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινά ποιεύντων, τώυτο ἐποίησε το καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ θυγατρί. παρελθόντων δε καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ώστε των συμποτέων οι άνδρα απηλικέστερον, έκπεπτωκότα έκ των έόντων έχοντά τε οὐδεν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν ᾿Αμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ώς είδε, ανακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ονομαστί τον έταιρον έπλήξατο την κεφαλήν. ήσαν δ' άρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιεύμενον πᾶν έξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδφ Καμβύση ἐσήμαινον. θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας άγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. "Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, είρωτα δι' ο τι δη την μέν θυγατέρα όρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παίδα έπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέ-

BOOK III. 14

the families of the chief men. So when the damsels came before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children's evil case; but Psammenitus, having already seen and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytilenaeans who had perished with their ship at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did when any came into his sight. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: "Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried

κλαυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκοντα, ώς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἐτίμησας." ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ᾽ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "宀Ω παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκήια ἢν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὤοτε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἢν δακρύων, ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχηίην ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ." καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ¹ ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εῦ δοκέειν σφι εἰρῆσθαι, ὡς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὖτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύση ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτον), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτῷ τε Καμβύση ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τόν τἑ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὶν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ᾽ ἐωυτόν.

15. Τον μεν δη παίδα εξ τον αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιεόντα ἀλλὰ πρῶς ον κατακοπέντα, αὐτον δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαιτες ήγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιοτήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ὰν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παίδας τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀπεστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν άρχήν. πολλοῖσι μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμώς ασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιέειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρω παιδὶ Θαννύρα, δς ἀπέλαβε τήν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἰχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ ᾿Αμυρταίου Παυσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οῦτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρω γε καὶ ᾿Αμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω

 $^{^{1}}$ Probably $\delta\epsilon$ below should be omitted; otherwise the sentence cannot be translated.

BOOK III. 14-15

aloud nor wept, yet did this honour to the poor man, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is none of your kin?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the misfortune of my companion called for tears-one that has lost great wealth and now on the threshold of old age is come to beggary." When the messenger so reported, and Cambyses and his court, it is said, found the answer good, then, as the Egyptians tell, Croesus wept (for it chanced that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and so did the Persians that were there; Cambyses himself felt somewhat of pity, and forthwith he bade that Psammenitus' son be saved alive out of those that were to be slain, and that Psammenitus himself be taken from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15. As for the son, those that went for him found that he was no longer living, but had been the first to be hewn down; but they brought Psammenitus away and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt as to be governor of it; for the Persians are wont to honour king's sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros

έργασαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἥλω· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα.

ούτω δη ούτος έτελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιησαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. έπείτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ ᾿Αμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν ᾿Αμάσιος νέκυν έκφέρειν έξω ως δε ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγούν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κει τοῦν τε καὶ τάλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπείτε δέ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς άτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο), έκέλευσέ μιν ο Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πύρ. τὸ ὧν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς έν νόμφ οὐδετέροισι ἐστί, Πέρσησι μὲν δι ὅ περ είρηται, θεώ οὐ δίκαιον είναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρον ανθρώπου Αίγυπτίοισι δε νενόμισται πυρ θηρίον είναι έμψυχον, πάντα δε αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ αν λάβη, πλησθέν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένω. οὔκων θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τὸν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθή. οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ένετέλλετο ποιέειν ο Καμβύσης. ώς μέντοι Αἰ-γύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ "Αμασις ῆν ο ταῦτα παθών, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ήλικίην 'Αμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Αμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γαρ ώς πυθόμενος έκ μαντηίου ό "Αμασις τὰ περὶ έωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα

BOOK III. 15-16

and Amyrtaeus.¹ But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when this came to Cambyses' ears, Psammenitus drank bulls' blood² and forthwith died. Such was his end.

16. From Memphis Cambyses went to the city Sais, desiring to do that which indeed he did. Entering the house of Amasis, straightway he bade carry Amasis' body out from its place of burial; and when this was accomplished, he gave command to scourge it and pull out the hair and do it despite in all other ways. When they were weary of doing this (for the body, being embalmed, remained whole and was not dissolved), Cambyses commanded to burn it. a sacrilegious command; for the Persians hold fire to be a god; therefore neither nation deems it right to burn the dead, the Persians for the reason assigned, as they say it is wrong to give the dead corpse of a man to a god; while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies with the end of that whereon it feeds. Now it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts; and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and be eaten of worms. Thus Cambyses commanded the doing of a thing contrary to the custom of both peoples. Howbeit, as the Egyptians say, it was not Amasis to whom this was done, but another Egyptian of a like age, whom the Persians despitefully used thinking that they so treated Amasis. For their story is that Amasis learnt from an oracle what was to be

² The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, ad loc.)

¹ The revolt of the Egyptians Inaros and Amyrtaeus against the Persian governor lasted from 460 to 455 B.C.

μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῆσι θύρησι ἐντὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἑωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θεῖναι. αἱ μέν νυν ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὖται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι οὕ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ᾽ αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν. 17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας, ἐπί τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ ᾿Αμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῆ νοτίη θαλάσση βουλευομένω δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ ᾿Αμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὀψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτη τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγω φέροντας τῷ βασιλέι αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται είναι, λειμων ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἑφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλεϊ ἑκάστοτε ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι

έκάστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται είναι τοιήδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν

BOOK III. 16-19

done to him after his death, and so to avert this doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his death by the door within his own vault, and commanded his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

17. After this Cambyses planned three expeditions, against the Carchedonians,1 and against the Ammonians, and against the "long-lived" Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Libvan coast of the southern sea. Taking counsel, he resolved to send his fleet against the Carchedonians and a part of his land army against the Ammonians; to Ethiopia he would send first spies, to see what truth there were in the story of a Table of the Sun in that country, and to spy out all else besides, under the pretext of bearing gifts for the Ethiopian king.

18. Now this is said to be the fashion of the Table of the Sun.3 There is a meadow outside the city, filled with the roast flesh of all four-footed things; here during the night the men of authority among the townsmen are careful to set out the meat, and all day he that wishes comes and feasts thereon. These meats, say the people of the country, are ever

produced by the earth of itself.

19. Such is the story of the Sun's Table. When Cambyses was resolved to send the spies, he sent straightway to fetch from the city Elephantine those of the Fish-eaters who understood

¹ Carthaginians. ² cp. beginning of ch. 23. ³ This story may be an indication of offerings made to the dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.

τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. ἐν το δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτω ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν μαυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιέειν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἑωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μέν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὰ Αἴγυπτον.

20. Έπείτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύση ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεον τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσεον στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικηίου οἴνου κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰτίοπες οὐτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιληίην τοιῷδε· τὸν ἀν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν.

21. Ές τούτους δη ων τους άνδρας ως απίκοντο οι Ίχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δωρα τῷ βασιλέι αὐτων έλεγον τάδε. "Βασιλευς ο Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῦνός τοι γενέσθαι, ημέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῦν κελεύων,

BOOK III. 19-21

the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon. But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could not righteously attack their own sons; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly given their help to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

20. When the Fish-eaters came from Elephantine at Cambyses' message, he sent them to Ethiopia, charged with what they should say, and bearing gifts, to wit, a purple cloak and a twisted gold necklace and armlets and an alabaster box of incense and a cask of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyses sent them, are said to be the tallest and fairest of all men. Their way of choosing kings is different from that of all others, as (it is said) are all their laws; they deem worthy to be their king that townsman whom they judge to be tallest and to have strength proportioned to his stature.

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters came, offering gifts and delivering this message to their king: "Cambyses king of Persia, desiring to be your friend and guest, sends us with command to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such

καὶ δώρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ήδεται χρεώμενος." ό δὲ Λιθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ήκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "Οὔτε ο Περσέων βασιλεύς δώρα ύμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμών πολλού έμοι ξείνος γενέσθαι, ούτε ύμεις λέγετε άληθέα (ήκετε γαρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς άρχης), ούτε ἐκείνος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος. εὶ γὰρ ην δίκαιος, οὐτ' αν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης η της έωυτοῦ, οὐτ' αν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ῆγε ὑπ' ών μηδεν ήδίκηται. νῦν δε αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε έπεα λέγετε. 'Βασιλεύς ὁ Αἰθιόπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλέι, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθεϊ τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ύπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοίσι είδεναι χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τράπουσι Αιθιόπων παισί γην άλλην προσκτάσθαι τη έωυτων."

22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀνεὶς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ήκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὅ τι εἴη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείην περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἵματα. δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἶπε ώς παρ ἑωυτοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκετο καὶ

BOOK III. 21-22

gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use." But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: "It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message: 'The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have."

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: "We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the

ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζώει. οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτεόμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοισι τὸν οἶνον τούτῷ γὰρ ἑωυτοὺς

ύπὸ Περσέων έσσοῦσθαι.

23. Άντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων της ζόης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς είκοσι καὶ έκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ είναι κρέα τε έφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. Θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων των κατασκόπων περί των ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ήγήσασθαι, άπ' ής λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι έγίνοντο, κατά περ εί έλαίου είη· όζειν δε άπ' αὐτῆς ώς εἰ ἴων. ἀσθειες δε τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης ούτω δή τι έλεγον είναι οί κατάσκοποι ώστε μηδεν οίόν τ' είναι επ' αὐτοῦ επιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε των όσα ξύλου εστὶ έλαφρότερα, άλλα πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ές βυσσόν. το δε ύδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οἶόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτφ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, άγαγείν σφεας ές δεσμωτήριον άνδρων, ένθα τους πάντας έν πέδησι χρυσέησι δεδέσθαι. έστι δὲ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ο χαλκος σπανιώτατον και τιμιώτατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο καὶ την τοῦ ηλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

BOOK III. 22-23

making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung¹; they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

23. The Fish-eaters then in turn asking of the Ethiopian length of life and diet, he said that most of them attained to an hundred and twenty years, and some even to more; their food was roast meat and their drink milk. The spies showed wonder at the tale of years; whereon he led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing wherein they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil; and it smelt as it were of violets. So frail, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water be truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived. When they left the spring, the king led them to a prison where all the men were bound with fetters of gold. Among these Ethiopians there is nothing so scarce and so precious as bronze. Then, having seen the prison, they saw what is called the Table of the Sun.

¹ i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αὶ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῷ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχνήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατά περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἄπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῆ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δέ οἰ περιιστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην ἢ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέση δὲ τῆ στήλη ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὕτε ὀδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὕτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἱστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὕτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὕτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἱα δὲ ἐμμανής τε ἐων καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὡς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἄμα ἀγόμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβησι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο ᾿Αμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἤιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ

BOOK III. 24-25

24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of porcelain, as I shall describe: they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of porcelain, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought; the body can be seen in the pillar through the porcelain, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25. Having viewed all, the spies departed back again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched forthwith against the Ethiopians, neither giving command for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; and being not in his right mind but mad, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, setting the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he parted about fifty thousand men from his army, and charged them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was

δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μέν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῆ ἀρχῆθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτάδι ἦν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἤιε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔως μέν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἔνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπεὶς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ελληνας

απηκε αποπλέειν.

26. 'Ο μεν επ' Αιθίοπας στόλος ούτω έπρηξε. οί δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' 'Αμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπείτε ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο έχοντες άγωγούς, άπικόμενοι μεν φανεροί είσι ές "Οασιν πόλιν, την έχουσι μέν Σάμιοι της Αἰσχριωνίης φυλής λεγόμενοι είναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ έπτα ήμερέων όδον άπο Θηβέων δια ψάμμου ονομάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὖτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος. ές μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατόν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ότι μὴ αὐτοὶ 'Αμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, άλλοι οὐδένες οὐδέν έχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. ούτε γαρ ές τους 'Αμμωνίους απίκοντο ούτε οπίσω ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν 'Αμμωνίων ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς 'Οάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι δια της ψάμμου έπι σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτούς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς 'Οάσιος,

BOOK III. 25-26

gone they ate the beasts of burden till there was none of these left also. Now had Cambyses, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he had been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, nothing recking. While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, certain of them did a terrible deed, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. Hearing this, Cambyses feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away.

26. So fared the expedition against Ethiopia. As for those of the host who were sent to march against the Ammonians, they set forth and journeyed from Thebes with guides; and it is known that they came to the city Oasis, where dwell Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe, seven days' march from Thebes across sandy desert; this place is called, in the Greek language, the Island of the Blest. Thus far, it is said, the army came; after that, save the Ammonians themselves and those who heard from them, no man can say aught of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians nor returned back. But this is what the Ammonians themselves say: When the Persians were crossing the sand from the Oasis to attack them, and were about midway between their country and the Oasis, while they were

Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the "Great oasis" of Khargeh, about seven days journey from Thebes, as he says.

ἄριστον αίρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπω τοιούτω ἀφανισθῆναι. ᾿Αμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέ-

σθαι περί της στρατιής ταύτης.

27. 'Απιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ 'Απις, τὸν' Ελληνες Έπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἵματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίησι. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἑωυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἴρετο ὅ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίευν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πλῆθός τι ἀποβαλών. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῆ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὁρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους θανάτω ἐζημίου.

28. 'Αποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεός τις χειροήθης ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν ᾿Απιν τοὺς ἱρέας. οῦ μὲν δὴ μετήισαν ἄξοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἦτις οὖτος ὁ Ἔπαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοός, ἤτις οὐκέτι οἵη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καί μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἦπιν.

BOOK III. 26-28

breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

- 27. After Cambyses was come to Memphis there appeared in Egypt that Apis 1 whom the Greeks call Epaphus; at which revelation straightway the Egyptians donned their fairest garments and kept high festival. Seeing the Egyptians so doing, Cambyses was fully persuaded that these signs of joy were for his misfortunes, and summoned the rulers of Memphis; when they came before him he asked them why the Egyptians acted so at the moment of his coming with so many of his army lost, though they had done nothing like it when he was before at Memphis. The rulers told him that a god, who had been wont to reveal himself at long intervals of time, had now appeared to them; and that all Egypt rejoiced and made holiday whenever he so appeared. At this Cambyses said that they lied, and he punished them with death for their lie.
- 28. Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. When they gave him the same account, he said that "if a tame god had come to the Egyptians he would know it"; and with no more words he bade the priests bring Apis. So they went to seek and bring him. This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to

έχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὖτος ὁ ¾πις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε ἐων μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκόν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῆ οὐρῆ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆ γλώσση

κάνθαρου.

29. 'Ως δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν ᾿Απιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἱα ἐων ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ ᾿Απιος παίει τὸν μηρόν γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας "˚Ω κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεες καὶ ἐπαΐοντες σιδηρίων; ἄξιος μέν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὖτός γε ὁ θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.' ταῦτα εἴπας ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἂν λάβωσι ὁρτάζοντα κτείνειν. ὁρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ ᾿Απις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρη Καμβύσεω.

30. Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνω ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἤνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἶός τε ἐγένετο. ἀποιχομένου ὧν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ΰπνω τοιήνδε· ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνως

Apis. The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue.

29. When the priests led Apis in, Cambyses—for he was well-nigh mad—drew his dagger and made to stab the calf in the belly, but smote the thigh; then laughing he said to the priests: "Wretched wights, are these your gods, creatures of flesh and blood that can feel weapons of iron? that is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But for you, you shall suffer for making me your laughing-stock." So saying he bade those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests well, and to kill any other Egyptian whom they found holiday-making. So the Egyptian festival was ended, and the priests were punished, and Apis lay in the temple and died of the blow on the thigh. When he was dead of the wound, the priests buried him without Cambyses' knowledge.

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses' former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia

τῷ βασιληίῳ ίζόμενος Σμέρδις τἢ κεφαλῆ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα δείσας περὶ έωυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχη, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, δς ἢν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. δ δε ἀναβὰς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προ-

αγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

31. Πρώτον μεν δή λέγουσι Καμβύση τών κακών άρξαι τοῦτο δεύτερα δὲ έξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν έσπομένην οί ές Αίγυπτον, τη καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ην οι ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεή. ἔγημε δὲ αὐτὴν ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῆσι ἀδελφεῆσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι. ἠράσθη μιῆς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ότι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν, εἴρετο καλέσας τούς βασιληίους δικαστάς εί τις έστὶ κελεύων νόμος τον βουλόμενον άδελφεή συνοικέειν. οί δὲ βασιλήιοι δικασταί κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ές οὖ ἀποθάνωσι ἤ σφι παρευρεθῆ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου οὖτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ έξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ές τούτους ἀνακέεται. είρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὖτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα έξευρίσκειν δς κελεύει άδελφεῆ συνοικέειν άδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι έξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύουτι Περσέων έξειναι ποιέειν το αν βούληται. ούτω ούτε τον νόμον έλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ίνα τε μη αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεύρον άλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τώ

BOOK III. 30-31

and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red ¹ Sea and there drowned him.

31. This, they say, was the first of Cambyses' evil acts; next, he made away with his full sister, who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he had taken to wife. He married her on this wise (for before this, it had by no means been customary for Persians to marry their sisters): Cambyses was enamoured of one of his sisters and presently desired to take her to wife; but his intention being contrary to usage, he summoned the royal judges 2 and inquired whether there were any law suffering one, that so desired, to marry his sister. These royal judges are men chosen out from the Persians to be so till they die or are detected in some injustice; it is they who decide suits in Persia and interpret the laws of the land; all matters are referred to them. These then replied to Cambyses with an answer which was both just and safe, namely, that they could find no law giving a brother power to marry his sister; but that they had also found a law whereby the King of Persia might do whatsoever he wished. Thus they broke not the law for fear of Cambyses, and, to save themselves from death for maintaining it, they found

² A standing body of seven; cp. Book of Esther, i. 14.

¹ Not our Red Sea ('Aράβιος κόλπος) but the Persian Gulf, probably; but it is to be noted that Herodotus has no definite knowledge of a gulf between Persia and Arabia.

θέλοντι γαμέειν άδελφεάς. τότε μεν δη ό Καμβύσης έγημε την έρωμένην, μετα μέντοι οὐ πολλον χρόνον έσχε άλλην άδελφεήν. τουτέων δητα την νεωτέρην έπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

32. 'Αμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. "Ελληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρέειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ άλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οί, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. καὶ τὸν μεν Καμβύσεα ήδεσθαι θεώμενον, την δε παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο έπειρέσθαι δι' ο τι δακρύει, την δε είπειν ως ίδουσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ως ἐκείνω οὐκ εἴη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Έλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζη παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα την γυναϊκα περιτίλαι και έπανειρέσθαι τον άνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ή θρίδαξ ή δασέα εἴη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν "Ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσαο τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας." τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα έμπηδησαι αὐτη έχούση έν γαστρί, καί μιν έκτρώσασαν αποθανείν.

33. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν ᾿Απιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἰα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές. οὔ νύν

BOOK III. 31-33

another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

32. There are two tales of her death, as of the death of Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had set a puppy to fight a lion's cub, with this woman too looking on; and the puppy being worsted, another puppy, its brother, broke its leash and came to help, whereby the two dogs together got the better of the cub. Cambyses, they say, was pleased with the sight, but the woman wept as she sat by. Cambyses perceived it and asking why she wept, she said she had wept when she saw the puppy help its brother, for thinking of Smerdis and how there was none to avenge him. For saying this, according to the Greek story, Cambyses put her to death. But the Egyptian tale is that as the two sat at table the woman took a lettuce and plucked off the leaves, then asked her husband whether he liked the look of it, with or without leaves; "With the leaves," said he; whereupon she answered: "Yet you have stripped Cyrus' house as bare as this lettuce." Angered at this, they say, he leaped upon her, she being great with child; and she died of the hurt he gave her.

33. Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call "sacred." It is no unlikely thing

τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἢν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην

νοσέοντος μηδέ τὰς φρένας ύγιαίνειν.

34. Τάδε δ' ές τους άλλους Πέρσας έξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν έτιμα τε μάλιστα καί οί τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε ούτος, τούτου τε ό παις οινοχόος ην τῷ Καμβύση, τιμή δὲ καὶ αύτη οὐ σμικρή εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. "Πρήξασπες, κοίον με τινα νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;" τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ω δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν άλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῆ δὲ φιλοινίη σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκέεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε άμείβεσθαι. "Νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἴνω προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα. οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες." πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἴρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέοι άνηρ είναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον, οἱ δὲ άμείβοντο ώς είη άμείνων τοῦ πατρός τά τε γὰρ έκείνου πάντα έχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροῖσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῆ κρίσι εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. "Έμοι μέν νυν, ὧ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις όμοιος είναι τῷ πατρί· οὐ γάρ κώ τοι έστὶ υίὸς οΐον σὲ ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο." ήσθη τε ταῦτα άκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν.

35. Τούτων δη ων ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῆ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα "Σύ νυν μάθε εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παρα-

BOOK III. 33-35

then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

34. I will now tell of his mad dealings with the rest of Persia. He said, as they report, to Prexaspes -whom he held in especial honour, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honourable office of Cambyses' cup-bearer—thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: "What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how speak they of me?" "Sire," said Prexaspes, "for all else they greatly praise you; but they say that you love wine too well." So he reported of the Persians; the king angrily replied: "If the Persians now say that 'tis my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie." For it is said that ere this, certain Persians and Croesus sitting with him, Cambyses asked what manner of man they thought him to be in comparison with Cyrus his father; and they answered, "that Cambyses was the better man; for he had all of Cyrus' possessions and had won besides Egypt and the sea." So said the Persians; but Croesus, who was present, and was ill-satisfied with their judgment, thus spoke to Cambyses: "To my thinking, son of Cyrus, you are not like your father; for you have as yet no son such as he left after him in you." This pleased Cambyses, and he praised Croesus' judgment.

35. Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: "Judge you then if the Persians speak truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds

φρονέουσι εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε έστεώτος έν τοίσι προθύροισι βαλών τύχοιμι μέσης της καρδίης, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν ήν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καί με μὴ σωφρονέειν." ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλείν τὸν παίδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδός άνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλημα ώς δὲ ἐν τῆ καρδίη εύρεθηναι ἐνεόντα τον διστόν, είπειν προς τον πατέρα του παιδός γελάσαιτα καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον "Πρήξασπες, ώς μεν έγώ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δηλά τοι γέγονε. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα είδες ήδη πάντων άνθρώπων ούτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;" Πρηξάσπεα δὲ όρῶντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἐωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν "Δέσποτα, οὐδ" αν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω αν καλώς βαλείν." τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων όμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοισι δυώδεκα ἐπ' οὐδεμιῆ αἰτίη ἀξιοχρέω έλων ζώοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.

36. Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιεῦντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. "'Ω βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθίη. σὰ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾳ αἰτίᾳ ἀξιοχρέῳ ἑλών, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. ἢν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιέῃς, ὅρα ὅκως μή σευ ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετέειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἄν εὐρίσκω ἀγαθόν." ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευέ οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Σὸ

BOOK III. 35-36

when they so speak of me. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and I out of my senses." So saying he strung his bow and hit the boy, and bade open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy's father: "It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world saw you ever that shot so true to the mark?" Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), "Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true." Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, proved them guilty of some petty offence, and buried them head downwards and alive.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: "Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good." Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: "It is very

καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν, δς χρηστῶς μὲν την σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρί τῶ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν 'Αράξεα ποταμον διαβάντα ίέναι έπὶ Μασσαγέτας, Βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακώς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλεσας Κῦρον πειθόμενον σοί, άλλ' ούτι χαίρων, ἐπεί τοι καὶ πάλαι ές σὲ προφάσιος τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ώς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω. ὁ δὲ έπείτε τοξεύσαι οὐκ είχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν άποκτείναι. οί δὲ θεράποντες έπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροίσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήση τῷ Καμβύση καὶ ἐπιζητέη τὸν Κροῖσον, οὶ δὲ ἐκφήναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψονται ζωάγρια Κροίσου, ἢν δὲ μὴ μεταμέληται μηδὲ ποθέη μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τον Κροίσον οὐ πολλώ μετέπειτα χρόνω ύστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ώς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσφ μὲν συνήδεσθαι έφη περιεόντι, εκείνους μέντοι τους περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροίξεσθαι άλλ' ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. 'Ο μεν δή τοιαθτα πολλά ές Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους έξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοθ 'Ηφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἢλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοθ 'Ηφαίστου τὤγαλμα τοθσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταϊκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν

BOOK III. 36-37

well that you should dare to counsel me too; you, who governed your own country right usefully, and gave fine advice to my father-bidding him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country. and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you shall rue it; long have I waited for a pretext to deal with you." With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing Cambyses' mood, hid Croesus; being minded, if Cambyses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life; but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants told him that Croesus was alive. Cambyses said that he too was glad of it; but that they, who had saved Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed; and this was done.

37. Many such mad deeds did Cambyses to the Persians and his allies; he abode at Memphis, and there opened ancient coffins and examined the dead bodies. Thus too he entered the temple of Hephaestus and made much mockery of the image there. This image of Hephaestus is most like to the Phoenician Pataïci, which the Phoenicians carry on the

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¹ The Phoenician Πατάϊκος (as the Greeks called him) was the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus; always in the form of a dwarf.

τῆσι πρώρησι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. δς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὅπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί. ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταχή ὧν μοι δήλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι έπεχείρησε καταγελάν. εί γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τούς καλλίστους έκ των πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν έλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τούς έωυτῶν νόμους έκαστοι είναι. οὔκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ή μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι. ώς δὲ ούτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ανθρωποι, πολλοισί τε και άλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἴρετο ἐπὶ κόσφ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο τούς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι οί δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οὶ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' έρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν τελευτώντας τους πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί οί δὲ άμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μέν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιήσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας $\epsilon i \nu \alpha \iota$.

BOOK III. 37-38

prows of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

38. I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyses was very mad; else he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs, each, after examination made, would place its own first; so well is each persuaded that its own are by far the best. It is not therefore to be supposed that any, save a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs: -When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them what price would persuade them to eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. Then he summoned those Indians who are called Callatiae,1 who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding by interpretation what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud. that he should not speak of so horrid an act. firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that use and wont is lord of all.2

¹ Apparently from Sanskrit Kâla = black.

² νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων; quoted in Plato's Gorgias from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.

39. Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου έποιήσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος δς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῆ δασά-μενος τὴν πόλιν . .¹ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτφ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίην 'Αμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέι συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνφ δὲ ὀλίγφ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ηὔξετο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλω ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκεε, πολλά δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄστεα· έν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιή βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίη κρατήσας είλε, οὶ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμφ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ώρυξαν.

40. Καί κως τὸν 'Αμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. "'Αμασις Πολυκράτεϊ ὧδε λέγει. ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένω ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν· καί κως βού-

¹ σύν or ἄμα is probably omitted.

BOOK III. 39-40

- 39. While Cambyses was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too made war upon Samos and Aeaces' son Polycrates. He had revolted and won Samos, and first, dividing the city into three parts, gave a share in the government to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Syloson, and so made himself lord of all Samos; which done, he made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending and receiving from him gifts. Very soon after this Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his warlike enterprises prospered. An hundred fifty-oared ships he had, and a thousand archers, and he harried all men alike, making no difference; for, he said, he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates worsted them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the fosse round the citadel of Samos.
- 40. Now Amasis was in some wise aware and took good heed of Polycrates' great good fortune; and this continuing to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: "From Amasis to Polycrates, these. It is pleasant to learn of the wellbeing of a friend and guest. But I like not these great successes of yours; for I know how jealous are

¹ Probably in 532 B.C.

λομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι τὸ μέν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶια ἐναλλὰξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγφ οἶδα ακούσας όστις ές τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον προς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε φροντίσας τὸ αν εύρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ῷ σὺ ἀπολομένω μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους ήν τε μη έναλλαξ ήδη τωπό τούτου αί εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθησι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπφ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένω ἀκέο."

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόφ λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο "Αμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ὧ αν μάλιστα την ψυχην ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένω των κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὔρισκε τόδε. ην οί σφρηγίς την έφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μεν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. έπει ων ταύτην οι εδόκεε αποβαλείν, εποίεε τοιάδε. πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ώς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου έκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων όρώντων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει ές το πέλαγος. τούτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορη ἐχρᾶτο.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἔκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ άλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἡξίου μιν Πολυκράτεϊ δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτεϊ ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν, χωρήσαντος δέ οἰ τούτου ἔλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν " Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ

BOOK III. 40-42

the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this to mend your successes: consider what you deem most precious and what you will most grieve to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you."

- 41. Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis' advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most afflict his soul to lose, and to this conclusion he came: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, wrought by Theodorus son of Telecles of Samos; being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and bade them put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were in the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss.
- 42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: "O King, I am a man that lives by

τόνδε έλων οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐων ἀποχειροβίοτος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δή μιν φέρων δίδωμι." ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. "Κάρτα τε εῦ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καί σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῆ νηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεω τρόπω εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἶα καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἡκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίεε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

44. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὧν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτη κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρη Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅκως ἄν καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο

BOOK III. 42-44

his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done right well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me." Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

- 43. When Amasis had read Polycrates' letter, he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end. So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, with this intent, that when some great and terrible mishap overtook Polycrates, he himself might not have to grieve his heart for a friend.
- 44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require

στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἄμα πέμψαι ἐωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. δ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύση ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀπο-

πέμπειν.

45. Οὶ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέιτας Σαμίων ύπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, άλλ' ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθφ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καί σφι άδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν οὶ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ές Αίγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς άποδρήναι. καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ές μάχην κατέστη νικήσαντες δε οί κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ές την νησον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῆ ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δή έπλεον ές Λακεδαίμονα. είσι δε οι λέγουσι τούς ἀπ' Αιγύπτου νικήσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες έμοι δοκέειν οὐκ ὀρθώς οὐδεν γὰρ έδει σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴ περ αὐτοὶ ἡσαν ίκανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι οὐδὲ λόγος αίρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουροί τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκήιοι ἦσαν πλήθεϊ πολλοί, τοῦτον ύπο των κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ολίγων έσσωθηναι. των δ' ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε έτοίμους, ἢν ἄρα προδιδώσι ούτοι πρὸς τούς κατιόντας, ύποπρησαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι.

46. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα-

BOOK III. 44-46

men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

45. Some say that these Samians who were sent by Polycrates never came to Egypt, but having got as far over the sea as Carpathus there took counsel together and resolved to sail no further; others say that they did come to Egypt and escaped thence from the guard that was set over them. But as they sailed back to Samos, Polycrates' ships met them and joined battle; and the returning Samians gained the day and landed on the island, but were there worsted in a land battle, and so sailed to Lacedaemon. There is another story, that the Samians from Egypt defeated Polycrates; but to my thinking this is untrue; for if they were able to master Polycrates by themselves, they had no need of inviting the Lacedaemonians. Nay, moreover, it is not even reasonable to suppose that he, who had a great army of hired soldiers and bowmen of his own, was worsted by a few men like the returning Samians. Polycrates took the children and wives of the townsmen who were subject to him and shut them up in the arsenal, with intent to burn them and the arsenal too if their men should desert to the returned Samians.

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the

στάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἶα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οῖ δέ σφι τῆ πρώτη καταστάσι ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρώτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστατα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οῦ δέ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι·

βοηθέειν δ' ων έδοξε αὐτοῖσι.

47. Καὶ έπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι έστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι έπὶ Σάμον, ώς μεν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ έβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους. ώς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοισι ἐστρατεύοντο ώς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητήρος τής άρπαγής, τον ήγον Κροίσφ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τον αὐτοῖσι "Αμασις ο Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ γάρ θώρηκα έληίσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεῖ ἡ τὸν κρητήρα οί Σάμιοι, ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζώων ένυφασμένων συχνών, κεκοσμημένον δε χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου· τῶν δὲ είνεκα θωμάσαι άξιον, άρπεδόνη έκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιέει ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτή έχει άρπεδόνας έν έωυτη τριηκοσίας καὶ έξήκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος έτερος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδω ἀνέθηκε τῆ ᾿Αθηναίη Ἡμασις. 48. Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ

48. Συνεπελάβοντο δε τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ επὶ Σάμον ὅστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως
ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων
γενόμενον γενεῆ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου,
κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆ άρπαγῆ
γεγονός. Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους
ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς

BOOK JII. 46-48

ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants meal." To this the Spartans replied: "Your 'sack' was needless'; but they did resolve to help them.

47. The Lacedaemonians then equipped and sent an army to Samos; the Samians say that this was the requital of services done, they having first sent a fleet to help the Lacedaemonians against Messenia; but the Lacedaemonians say that they sent this army less to aid the Samians in their need than to avenge the robbery of the bowl which they had been carrying to Croesus and the breastplate which Amasis King of Egypt had sent them as a gift. This breastplate had been stolen away by the Samians in the year before they took the bowl; it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery, and inwoven with many figures; but what makes the wonder of it is each several thread; it is delicate work, containing three hundred and sixty threads, each plainly seen. It is the exact counterpart of that one which Amasis dedicated to Athene in Lindus.

48. The Corinthians also helped zealously to further the expedition against Samos. They too had been treated in a high-handed fashion by the Samians a generation before this expedition, about the time of the robbery of the bowl. Periander son of Cypselus sent to Alyattes at Sardis three hundred boys, sons

¹ It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say ἀλφίτων δέεται, without using the word θύλακος.

Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ 'Αλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῆ προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παίδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἶσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παίδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄψασθαι 'Αρτέμιδος μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορῶντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παίδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὁρτήν, τῆ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταὐτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παίδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡιθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παίδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὁ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς δὲ παίδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

49. Εί μέν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοίσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἢν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἴνεκεν τῆς αἰτίης. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπείτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἑωυτοῖσι . . . ¹ τούτων ὧν εἴνεκεν ἀπεμνη-

σικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50. 'Απέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἐκτομῆ Περίανδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παίδας τιμωρεύμενος πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἣρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπείτε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην

 $^{^1}$ I assume in translation that some word, suggestion of $\delta\mu\alpha(\mu\rho\nu\epsilon s,$ has dropped out.

of notable men in Corcyra, to be made eunuchs. The Corinthians who brought the boys put in at Samos; and when the Samians heard why the boys were brought, first they bade them take sanctuary in the temple of Artemis, then they would not suffer the suppliants to be dragged from the temple; and when the Corinthians tried to starve the boys out, the Samians made a festival which they still celebrate in the same fashion; as long as the boys took refuge, nightly dances of youths and maidens were ordained to which it was made a custom to bring cakes of sesame and honey, that the Corcyraean boys might snatch these and so be fed. This continued to be done till the Corinthian guards left their charge and departed, and the Samians took the boys back to Corcyra.

- 49. Now had the Corinthians after Periander's death been well disposed towards the Corcyraeans, they would not have aided in the expedition against Samos only for the reason given. But as it was, ever since the island was colonised they have been at feud with each other, for all their kinship. For these reasons the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians.
- 50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the sons of the notable Corcyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Corcyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what

συνέβη πρὸς τῆ γεγονυίη γενέσθαι. ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἐπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης ἐων Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς οἰκὸς ἢν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς " Αρα ἴστε, ὡ παῖδες, ὸς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;" τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγω ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Λυκόφρων, ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἄτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένω τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δέ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51. Έξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον ἱστόρεε τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δέ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλέης ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἄτε οὐ νόφ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὔ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεέ τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῆ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μή μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περίανδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνό-

¹ Stein brackets καλ τοῦτο, as a repetition from the last line.

BOOK III. 50-51

had already befallen him. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one eighteen years old. Their mother's father, Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and kindly entreated them, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter's sons. When they left him, he said as he bade them farewell: "Know you, boys, him who slew your mother?" The elder of them paid no heed to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would speak no word to his father, as being his mother's murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor make any reply to his questions. last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house.

51. Having so done he questioned the elder son, what their grandfather had said in converse to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly; but he made no mention of what he had said at parting; for he had taken no heed to it. Periander said it could not be but that Procles had given them some admonition; and he questioned his son earnestly; till the boy remembered, and told of that also. Being thus informed, Periander was resolved to show no weakness; he sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and bade them not entertain him in their house. So the boy being driven forth and going to another house was ever rejected there too, Periander threatening all who received him and bidding them keep him

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μενος δ' αν ήιε επ' ετέρην των εταίρων οι δε ατε Περιάνδρου εόντα παιδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες όμως εδέκοντο.

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ος αν η οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί μιν η προσδιαλεχθη, ἱρην ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ ᾿Απόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δή είπας. πρός ών δή τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οί διαλέγεσθαι ούτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ήθελε πρὸς δε ούδε αύτος εκείνος εδικαίου πειρασθαι άπειρημένου, άλλα διακαρτερέων έν τησι στοήσι έκαλινδέετο. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρη ἰδών μιν ὁ Περίανδρος άλουσίησί τε καὶ ἀσιτίησι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτειρε. ύπεις δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἤιε ἀσσον καὶ ἔλεγε " Ω παῖ, κότερα τούτων αίρετώτερα έστί, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν έχων πρήσσεις, ή την τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὰ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν, δς έων έμός τε παίς καὶ Κορίνθου της εὐδαίμονος βασιλεύς ἀλήτην βίον είλευ, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργή χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε ήκιστα έχρην. εί γάρ τις συμφορή έν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, έξ ής ύποψίην ές έμὲ έχεις, έμοί τε αύτη γέγονε καὶ έγω αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσφ αὐτός σφεα έξεργασάμην. σύ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῷ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον έστι ή οίκτείρεσθαι, άμα τε όκοιόν τι ές τούς τοκέας καὶ ές τούς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία." Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε δ δε άλλο μεν οὐδεν άμείβεται τον πατέρα, έφη δέ μιν ίρην ζημίην οφείλειν τῷ θεῷ έωυτῶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθών δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ώς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν είη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ άνίκητον, έξ όφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοίον ές Κέρκυραν ἐπεκράτεε γάρ καὶ ταύτης.

BOOK III. 51-52

out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son.

52. At the last Periander made a proclamation, that whosoever should receive him into their houses or address him should be held liable to a fine consecrated to Apollo, and he named the sum. In face of this proclamation none would address or receive the boy into his house; nor did the boy himself think well to try to defy the warning, but hardened his heart and lay untended in porches. After three days Periander saw him all starved and unwashed, and took pity on him: his anger being somewhat abated, he came near and said: "My son, which is the better way to choose-to follow your present way of life, or to obey your father and inherit my sovereignty and the good things which I now possess? You are my son, and a prince of wealthy Corinth; yet you have chosen the life of a vagrant, by withstanding and angrily entreating him who should least be so used by you. For if there has been any evil chance in the matter, which makes you to suspect me, 'tis on me that it has come and 'tis I that bear the greater share of it, inasmuch as the act was mine. Nay, bethink you how much better a thing it is to be envied than to be pitied, and likewise what comes of anger against parents and those that are stronger than you, and come away to my house." Thus Periander tried to win his son. But the boy only answered: "You have made yourself liable to the fine consecrated to the god by speaking to me." Then Periander saw that his son's trouble was past cure or constraint, and sent him away in a ship to Corcyra out of his sight; for Corcyra too

ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε.

53. Έπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνουτος ὅ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο έωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ες την Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τον Αυκόφροια έπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρω των παίδων ούκων ένώρα, άλλά οί κατεφαίνετο είναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ήξίωσε τὸν φέροντα την ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίεω δεύτερα απέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἐωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτη αν πείθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης "Ω παί, βούλεαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ές άλλους πεσείν και τον οίκον του πατρός διαφορηθέντα μάλλον ή αὐτός σφεα ἀπελθων έχειν; ἄπιθι ές τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. Φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν. μη τω κακώ το κακον ίω. πολλοί των δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθείσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ήδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοί δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί είσι, δ΄ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς· μὴ δῷς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι.'' ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ έπαγωγότατα διδαχθείσα ύπο του πατρος έλεγε προς αὐτόν ο δε ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ήξειν ές Κόρινθον, έστ' αν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τον πατέρα. ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτου Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αύτος μεν ές Κέρκυραν ήκειν, έκείνον δε έκέλευε

was subject to him; which done, he sent an army against Procles his father-in-law (deeming him to be the chief cause of his present troubles), and took Procles himself alive, besides taking Epidaurus.

53. As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his business, sent to Corcyra inviting Lycophron to be despot; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. Lycophron refused even to answer the messenger. Then Periander, greatly desiring that the young man should come, sent to him (as the next best way) his own daughter, the youth's sister, thinking that he would be likeliest to obey her. She came and said, "Brother, would you see the sovereignty pass to others, and our father's house plundered, rather than come hence and have it for your own? Nay, come away home and cease from punishing yourself. Pride is the possession of fools. Seek not to cure one ill by another. There be many that set reason before righteousness; and many that by zeal for their mother's cause have lost their father's possessions. Despotism is a thing hard to hold; many covet it, and our father is now old and past his prime; give not what is your estate to others." So, by her father's teaching, she used such arguments as were most likely to win Lycophron; but he answered, that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father to be alive. When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, offering to go to Corcyra himself, and

ές Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι της τυραννίδος. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς την Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς την Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μή σφι Περίανδρος ἐς την χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυν

ραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

54. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλφ μεγάλφ ὡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἑστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῆ ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ ὅρεος ἐπεόντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἵ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον

οπίσω, οὶ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον.

55. Εἰ μέν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ᾿Αρχίῃ τε καὶ Λυκώπῃ, αἰρέθη ἂν Σάμος: ᾿Αρχίῃς γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀποκληισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῷ πόλι τῷ Σαμίων. τρίτω δὲ ἀπ' ᾿Αρχίεω τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλω ᾿Αρχίῃ τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ ᾿Αρχίεω αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν), δς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καί οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοὕνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ᾿Αρχίῃς ἐν Σάμω ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμὰν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corcyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

54. The Lacedaemonians then came with a great host, and laid siege to Samos. They assailed the fortress and made their way into the tower by the seaside in the outer part of the city; but presently Polycrates himself attacked them with a great force and drove them out. The foreign soldiery and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill, and withstood the Lacedaemonian onset for a little while; then they fled back, the Lacedaemonians pursuing

and slaying them.

55. Now had all the Lacedaemonians there fought as valiantly that day as Archias and Lycopas, Samos had been taken. These two alone entered the fortress along with the fleeing crowd of Samians, and their way back being barred were then slain in the city of Samos. I myself have met in his native township of Pitana ¹ another Archias (son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias afore-named), who honoured the Samians more than any other of his guest-friends, and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was the son of that Archias who was slain fighting gallantly at Samos. The reason of his honouring the Samians, he said, was that they had given his grandfather a public funeral.

¹ A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δημος; the Peloponnesian word would be κώμα.

- 56. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὅρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναί σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηίην ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποιήσαντο.
- 57. Οι δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον, χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἄτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῆ νήσω χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὅστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἑκάστω χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε ὧν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίω εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε.
- "' Αλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνφ πρυτανήια λευκὰ γένηται λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορή, τότε δη δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρός

φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ' ἐρ**υ**θρόν."

τοίσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἢν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήιον Παρίφ λίθφ ἠσκημένα. 56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilt leaden coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.¹

57. When the Lacedaemonians were about to abandon them, the Samians who had brought an army against Polycrates sailed away too, and went to Siphnus; for they were in want of money; and the Siphnians were at this time very prosperous and the richest of the islanders, by reason of the gold and silver mines of the island. So wealthy were they that the treasury dedicated by them at Delphi, which is as rich as any there, was made from the tenth part of their revenues; and they made a distribution for themselves of each year's revenue. Now when they were making the treasury they enquired of the oracle if their present well-being was like to abide long; whereto the priestess gave them this answer:

"Siphnus, beware of the day when white is thy high prytaneum,

White-browed thy mart likewise; right prudent

then be thy counsel;

Cometh an ambush of wood and a herald red to assail thee."

At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnus were adorned with Parian marble.

¹ Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.

58. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν γνώναι ούτε τότε εὐθὸς ούτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας άγουσαν ές την πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν άπασαι αί νέες ήσαν μιλτηλιφέες, καὶ ήν τοῦτο τὸ ή Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάξασθαι τον ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα έρυθρόν. ἀπικόμενοι ὧν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφιίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρησαι οὐ φασκόντων δε χρήσειν των Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἡκον οί Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι έσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὑδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσω καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οῦτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν].¹ ἕκτω δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἡνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης ἐν Λἰγίνῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι

¹ Stein thinks καl...νηόν an interpolation; the temple of Dictyna was at some distance from Cydonia, and the cult was not a Greek one.

BOOK III. 58-59

58. They could not understand this oracle either when it was spoken or at the time of the Samians' coming. As soon as the Samians put in at Siphnus, they sent ambassadors to the town in one of their ships; now in ancient times all ships were painted with vermilion; and this was what was meant by the warning given by the priestess to the Siphnians, to beware of a wooden ambush and a red herald. The messengers, then, demanded from the Siphnians a loan of ten talents; which being refused, the Samians set about ravaging their lands. Hearing this the Siphnians came out forthwith to drive them off, but they were worsted in battle, and many of them were cut off from their town by the Samians; who presently exacted from them a hundred talents.

59. Then the Samians took from the men of Hermione, instead of money, the island Hydrea which is near to Peloponnesus, and gave it in charge to men of Troezen; they themselves settled at Cydonia in Crete, though their voyage had been made with no such intent, but rather to drive Zacynthians out of the island. Here they stayed and prospered for five years; indeed, the temples now at Cydonia and the shrine of Dietyna are the Samians' work; but in the sixth year came Aeginetans and Cretans and overcame them in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows, that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athene in Aegina. This the Aeginetans did out of a grudge against the Samians, who had begun the quarrel; for when

¹ μιλτοπάρηοι is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.

Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' ᾿Αμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμφ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἴγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ'

έκείνων. ή μεν αίτίη αύτη.

60. Έμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία έστὶ μέγιστα άπάντων Έλλήνων έξεργασμένα, ὄρεός τε ύψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ έκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον, αμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρύγματος έπτα στάδιοι είσί, το δε ύψος καὶ ευρος όκτω έκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ορυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εῦρος, δι' οῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ές την πόλιν άγόμενον άπὸ μεγάλης πηγής. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου έγένετο Μεγαρεύς Εύπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστι, δεύτερον δὲ περί λιμένα χώμα έν θαλάσση, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι οργυιέων μηκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων. τρίτον δέ σφι εξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος έγένετο 'Ροικος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων είνεκεν μαλλόν τι περί Σαμίων έμήκυνα.

61. Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, τῶν τὸν ἔτερον καταλελοίπες τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὖτος δὴ ὧν οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθών τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοιτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εἴησαν οἱ

BOOK III. 59-61

Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

- 60. I have written thus at length of the Samians. because they are the makers of the three greatest works to be seen in any Greek land. First of these is the double-mouthed channel pierced for an hundred and fifty fathoms through the base of a high hill; the whole channel is seven furlongs long,1 eight feet high and eight feet wide; and throughout the whole of its length there runs another channel twenty cubits deep and three feet wide, wherethrough the water coming from an abundant spring is carried by its pipes to the city of Samos. The designer of this work was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus, a Megarian. This is one of the three works; the second is a mole in the sea enclosing the harbour, sunk full twenty fathoms, and more than two furlongs in length. The third Samian work is the temple, which is the greatest that I have seen; its first builder was Rhoecus son of Philes, a Samian. It is for this cause that I have written at length more than ordinary of Samos.
- 61. Now after Cambyses son of Cyrus had lost his wits, while he still lingered in Egypt, two Magians, who were brothers, rebelled against him.² One of them had been left by Cambyses to be steward of his house; this man now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret,

² The story dropped at ch. 38 is now taken up again.

¹ Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.

έπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μιν είδείησαν. προς ταθτα βουλεύσας τάδε έπεγείρησε τοίσι βασιληίοισι. ην οί άδελφέος, τον είπα οί συνεπαναστήναι, οίκως μάλιστα το είδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἐόντα έωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἢν τε δὴ ὅμοιος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐνομα τὼυτὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν. τοῦτον του ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης ώς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἶσε άγων ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον. ποιήσας δέ τοῦτο κήρυκας τή τε άλλη διέπεμπε καὶ δη καὶ ές Αίγυπτον προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἴη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω.

62. Οί τε δη ων άλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταθτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθείς, εύρισκε γαρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίης έν 'Αγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ έντεταλμένα έκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν άληθέα αὐτός τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γάρ αὐτον ώς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν ού ποιήσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ές τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε "Πρήξασπες, ούτω μοι διεπρήξαο τό τοι προσέθηκα πρηγμα;" ο δὲ εἶπε "³Ω δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελφεος σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ άνδρος νεικός τοι έσται ή μέγα ή σμικρόν έγω γαρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῆσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ανεστασι, προσδέκεό τοι καί 'Αστυάγεα τον Μήδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ προ τοῦ, οὐ μή τί τοι έκ γε έκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστη. νῦν ὧν

and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not

Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

62. So this proclamation was everywhere made; the herald appointed to go to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Agbatana in Syria, came out before them all and proclaimed the message given him by the Magian. When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that it was truth, and that Prexaspes, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not so done but played Cambyses false; and he said, fixing his eyes on Prexaspes, "Is it thus, Prexaspes, that you did my behest?" "Nay," said Prexaspes, "this is no truth, sire, that your brother Smerdis has rebelled against you; nor can it be that he will have any quarrel with you, small or great; I myself did your bidding, and mine own hands buried him. If then the dead can rise, you may look to see Astyages the Mede rise up against you; but if nature's order be not changed, assuredly no harm to you will arise from Smerdis. Now

μοι δοκέει μεταδιώξαντας τον κήρυκα έξετάζειν είρωτεῦντας παρ' ότευ ήκων προαγορεύει ήμιν

Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν."

63. Ταθτα εἴπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ήρεσε γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ήκε ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἴρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. "" Ωνθρωπε, φής γάρ ήκειν παρά Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου άγγελος νυν ών είπας την άληθείην άπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὄψιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων." ο δε είπε "Έγω Σμέρδιν μεν τον Κύρου, έξ ότευ βασιλεύς Καμβύσης ήλασε ές Αίγυπτον, οὔκω ὅπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον των οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὕτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δή σφι έλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψευσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε " Πρήξασπες, σὺ μέν οἰα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας το κελευόμενον αίτίην έκπέφευγας έμοι δε τίς αν είη Περσέων ο έπανεστεως έπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" δ δὲ εἶπε "Έγώ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὧ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι είσι τοι οι έπανεστεώτες, τόν τε έλιπες μελεδωνον των οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις."

64. Ένθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὔνομα ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθείη τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· δς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῷ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινά οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῆ κεφαλῆ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελφέον, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῆ

BOOK 111. 62-64

therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must

obey Smerdis as our king."

63. Cambyses thought well of Prexaspes' counsel; the herald was pursued and brought; and when he came, Prexaspes put this question to him: "Sirrah, you say that your message is from Cyrus' son Smerdis; tell me this now, and you may go hence unpunished: was it Smerdis who himself appeared to you and gave you this charge, or was it one of his servants?" "Since King Cambyses marched to Egypt," answered the herald, "I have never myself seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus; the Magian whom Cambyses made overseer of his house gave me the charge, saying that it was the will of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, that I should make it known to you." So spoke the herald, telling the whole truth; and Cambyses said, "Prexaspes, I hold you innocent; you have done my bidding right loyally; but who can this Persian be who rebels against me and usurps the name of Smerdis?" Prexaspes replied, "I think, sire, that I understand what has been done here; the rebels are the Magians, Patizeithes whom you left steward of your house, and his brother Smerdis."

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,

άπάση συμφορή ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόω έχων την ταχίστην ες Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι επὶ τὸν Μάγον. καί οι ἀναθρώσκοντι επὶ τὸν ίππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθέν δέ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν τρωματισθείς δε κατά τοῦτο τη αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αίγυπτίων θεὸν Απιν έπληξε, ώς οι καιρίη έδοξε τετύφθαι, εἴρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῆ πόλι οὔνομα εἴη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι ᾿Αγβάτανα· τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρό-τερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν ᾿Αγβατάνοισι τελευτήσειν τον βίον. δ μεν δή εν τοίσι Μηδικοίσι 'Αγβατάνοισι έδόκες τελευτήσειν γηραιός, εν τοισί οι ην τὰ πάντα πρήγματα τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον έν τοΐσι έν Συρίη Αγβατάνοισι έλεγε άρα. καὶ δὴ ώς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὔνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος έσωφρόνησε, συλλαβών δέ το θεοπρόπιον είπε " Ένθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτάν."

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ὡς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. " Ω Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτφ εἶδον ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῷ κεφαλῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθέω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίη φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον

BOOK III. 64-65

he leapt upon his horse, with intent to march forthwith to Susa against the Magian. As he mounted, the scabbard knob of his sword slipped off, and the naked blade struck his thigh, wounding him in the same part where he himself had once smitten the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the blow to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Agbatana. Now a prophecy had ere this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Agbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Agbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Agbatana of Syria. So when he now enquired and learnt the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magian, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: "Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is doomed to die."

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days after, he sent for the most honourable of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: "Needs must, Persians! that I declare to you a matter which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision that I would I had never seen; methought a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne, his head reaching to heaven. Then I feared that my brother would take away from me my sovereignty, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for (as I now

γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ές Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. έξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ύπαραιρημένου άλλος ἐπανασταίη ἀνθρώπων. παντός δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι άμαρτων άδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδεν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληίης οὐδὲν ἡσσον ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τόν μοι ό δαίμων προέφαινε εν τῆ όψι επαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μεν δη έργον εξέργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε οί δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληίων, τόν τε έλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ό εκείνου άδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μέν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἐμεῦ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρέειν έμοί, οθτος μεν ανοσίω μόρω τετελεύτηκε ύπο των έωυτου οικηιοτάτων τούτου δε μηκέτι εόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὧ Πέρσαι γίνεταί μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτών τον βίον καὶ δη ύμιν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεούς τούς βασιληίους έπικαλέων καὶ πάσι ύμιν και μάλιστα 'Αχαιμενιδέων τοισι παρεούσι, μη περιιδείν την ήγεμονίην αθτις ές Μήδους περιελθούσαν, άλλ' είτε δόλω έχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλω άπαιρεθηναι ύπο ύμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῷ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερον άνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γη τε καρπου εκφέροι καὶ γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι μη δε άνασωσαμένοισι την άρχην μηδ' επιχειρήσασι άνασώζειν τὰ εναντία τούτοισι άρωμαι ύμιν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι τὸ τέλος

BOOK III. 65

see) no human power can turn fate aside; fool that I was! I sent Prexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be: I have slain my brother for no cause, and lost my kingship none the less; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magian lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go

Περσέων εκάστω επιγενέσθαι οίον εμοί επιγέγονε." ἄμα τε είπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν

την έωυτοῦ πρηξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ώς τον βασιλέα είδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τά τε έσθητος έχόμενα είχον, ταῦτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἰμωγή ἀφθόνω διεχρέωντο. μετά δὲ ταῦτα ώς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ό μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μεν τὰ πάντα έπτὰ έτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα έρσενος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἀπιστίη πολλή ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους έχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ήπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολή εἶπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ΐνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῆ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν. οὖτοι μέν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ένεστεωτα· δεινώς γάρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης έξαρνος ήν μη μεν αποκτείναι Σμέρδιν ου γάρ ήν οί ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσεω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου υίον ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίη.

67. 'Ο δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύση ἐς τὰ ὀκτὰ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν τοῦσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῆ 'Ασίη πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ῆρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηίης καὶ

φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία.

68. Προείπε μεν δη ταθτα αθτίκα ενιστάμενος ες την άρχην, ογδόφ δε μηνί εγένετο κατάδηλος

BOOK III. 65-68

contrariwise for you, yea, that every Persian may meet an end such as mine." With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had befallen him.

- 66. When the Persians saw their king weep, they all rent the garments which they wore and lamented loud and long. But after this the bone became gangrened and the thigh rotted; which took off Cambyses son of Cyrus, who had reigned in all seven years and five months, and left no issue at all, male or female. The Persians present fully disbelieved in their hearts that the Magians were masters of the kingdom; they supposed that Cambyses' intent was to deceive them with his tale of Smerdis' death that so all Persia might be plunged into war. So they believed that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king. For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had killed Smerdis, since now that Cambyses was dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had slain the son of Cyrus with his own hands.
- 67. Cambyses being dead, the Magian, pretending to be the Smerdis of like name, Cyrus' son, reigned without fear for the seven months lacking to Cambyses' full eight years of kingship. In this time he greatly benefited all his subjects, in so much that after his death all the Asiatics except the Persians wished him back; for he sent hither and thither to every nation of his dominions and proclaimed them for three years freed from service in arms and from tribute.
- 68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who

τρόπω τοιώδε. 'Οτάνης ην Φαρνάσπεω μέν παίς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι όμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. ούτος ὁ 'Οτάνης πρώτος ύπώπτευσε τὸν Μάγον ώς οὐκ είη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἡν, τῆδε συμβ αλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἑωυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν ἐποίεε τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῆ οὔνομα ην Φαιδύμη· την αὐτην δη ταύτην είχε τότε ό Μάγος καὶ ταύτη τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῆσι ἄλλησι πάσησι τῆσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δη ων δ 'Οτάνης παρά ταύτην την θυγατέρα έπυνθάνετο παρ' ότεω ανθρώπων κοιμώτο, είτε μετά Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. ἡ δέ οί ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν οὐτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ίδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῆ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὁ τάνης λέγων "Εί μη αὐτη Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ ᾿Ατόσσης πύθευ ὅτεῳ τούτῳ συνοικέει αὐτή τε ἐκείνη καὶ σύ· πάντως γὰρ δή κου τόν γε έωυτης άδελφεον γινώσκει."

69. 'Αντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ "Οὕτε 'Ατόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὕτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὖτος ὥνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστί, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλη τάξας." ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ 'Οτάνη μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα. ""Ω θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εῦ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύη. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μή ἐστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω

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BOOK III. 68-69

he was, and this is how it was done: - There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magian was not Cyrus' son Smerdis but his true self; the reason was, that he never left the citadel nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence; and in his suspicion—Cambyses having married Otanes' daughter Phaedyme, whom the Magian had now wedded, with all the rest of Cambyses' wives-Otanes sent to this daughter, asking with whom she lay, Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or another. She sent back a message that she did not know; for (said she) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor knew who was her bedfellow. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not yourself know Cyrus' son Smerdis, then ask Atossa who is this that is her lord and yours; for surely she knows her own brother."

69. To this his daughter replied: "I cannot get speech with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her appointed place." When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: "Daughter, it is due to your noble birth that you should run any risk that your father bids you face. If this man be not Smerdis son of Cyrus, but

έγώ, ούτοι μιν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος έχοντα δεί χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, άλλα δουναι δίκην. νύν ων ποίησον τάδε έπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδη καὶ μάθης αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, άφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὧτα· καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηται ἔχων ὧτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι.'' ἀντιπέμπει πρός ταθτα ή Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ην ποιέη ταθτα· εἰ γὰρ δη μη τυγχάνει τὰ ὧτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εθ είδεναι ώς αιστώσει μιν όμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κύρος ο Καμβύσεω άρχων τὰ ὧτα ἀπέταμε έπ' αίτίη δή τινι οὐ σμικρή. ή ὧν δή Φαιδύμη αύτη, ή τοῦ 'Οτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρί, ἐπείτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο της ἀπίξιος παρά του Μάγου (ἐν περιτροπή γὰρ δή αί γυναίκες φοιτέουσι τοίσι Πέρσησι), έλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ηὖδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ήφασε τὰ ὧτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς άλλ' εἰπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὧτα, ώς ήμέρη τάχιστα έγεγόνεε, πέμψασα έσήμηνε τῷ πατρί τὰ γενόμενα.

70. 'Ο δὲ 'Οτάνης παραλαβων 'Ασπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἐόντας καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευον οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ 'Οτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτεῳ πιστεύει μάλιστα. 'Οτάνης μέν νυν ἐσάγεται 'Ινταφρένεα,

BOOK III. 69-70

another whom I think him to be, then he must not go unscathed, but be punished for sharing your bed and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore, when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep, do as I bid you and feel his ears; if you see that he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magian." Phaedyme answered by messenger that she would run very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling him, he would surely make an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to achieve her father's bidding. It is known that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave reason-I know not what. So Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian's wives come in regular order to their lord), she came to his bed, and felt the Magian's ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with much ease assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into their fellowship that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-

Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζον, 'Ασπαθίνης δὲ 'Υδάρνεα. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων εξ παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρεῖος ὁ 'Υστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἤκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἢν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὕπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὧν οῦτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι εξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον

προσεταιρίσασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δε ούτοι εόντες επτά εδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρείον άπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, έλεγε σφι τάδε. " Έγω ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μοῦνος ἐπίστασθαι, ότι τε ο Μάγος είη ο βασιλεύων και Σμέρδις ο Κύρου τετελεύτηκε καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου είνεκεν ήκω σπουδή ώς συστήσων έπι τῷ Μάγω θάνατον. έπείτε δὲ συνήνεικε ώστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μη μοῦνον ἐμέ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μη ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὁ τάνης " Ω παῖ 'Υστάσπεος, εἶς τε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας σεωυτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ πατρός οὐδὲν ήσσω την μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μη ούτω συντάχυνε άβούλως, άλλ' έπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε δεί γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους ούτω ἐπιχειρέειν." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος "Ανδρες οί παρεόντες, τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένω έξ 'Οτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα εξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ίδίη περιβαλλόμενος έωυτῷ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μέν νυν ώφείλετε έπ' ύμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἐδόκεε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον ἢ ἴστε ύμιν ότι ην ύπερπέση η νυν ημέρη, ώς οὐκ άλλος φθας έμεῦ κατήγορος έσται, άλλά σφεα αὐτὸς έγω κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον."

BOOK III. 70-71

phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes¹; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

71. The seven then met and gave each other pledges and spoke together; and when it was Darius' turn to declare his mind, he spoke as follows: "I supposed that I alone knew that it was the Magian who is king and that Smerdis son of Cyrus is dead; and it is for this cause that I have made haste to come, that I might compass the Magian's death; but since it has so fallen out that you too and not I alone know the truth, my counsel is for action forthwith, no delay; for evil will come of delay." "Son of Hystaspes," Otanes answered, "your father is a valiant man, and methinks you declare yourself as valiant as he; yet hasten not this enterprise thus inconsiderately; take the matter more prudently; we must wait to set about it till there are more of us." To this Darius answered: "Sirs, if you do as Otanes counsels, I tell you that you will perish miserably; for someone will carry all to the Magian, desiring private reward for himself. Now, it had been best for you to achieve your end yourselves unaided; but seeing that it was your pleasure to impart your plot to others and that so you have trusted me with it, let us, I say, do the deed this day; if we let to-day pass, be assured that none will accuse you ere I do, for I will myself lay the whole matter before the Magian."

¹ The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubaruwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.

72. Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα 'Οτάνης, ἐπειδη ώρα σπερχόμενον Δαρείον, "'Επείτε ήμέας συνταχύνειν αναγκάζεις και υπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἐᾶς, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεω τρόπω πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλήια καὶ έπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοίσι. φυλακάς γάρ δή διεστεώσας οίδάς κου καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέφ τρόπφ περήσομεν;" ἀμείβεται Δαρείος τοίσιδε. "'Οτάνη, ή πολλά έστι τὰ λόγω μεν ούκ οξά τε δηλώσαι, έργω δέ άλλα δ' έστὶ τα λόγω μεν οίά τε, έργον δε ούδεν άπ' αὐτων λαμπρον γίνεται. ύμεις δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἐούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μεν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶνδε οὐδεὶς ὅστις ού παρήσει, τὰ μέν κου καταιδεόμενος ήμέας, τὰ δέ κου καὶ δειμαίνων τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τη πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ήκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαί τι έπος παρά τοῦ πατρὸς σημήναι τῷ βασιλέι. ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οί τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῷ ἀληθείη διαχρεώμενοι. οί μέν γε ψεύδονται τότε έπεάν τι μέλλωσι τοίσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οὶ δ' ἀληθίζονται ίνα τη άληθείη έπισπάσωνται κέρδος καί τι μάλλόν σφι έπιτράπηται. ούτω οὐ ταὐτὰ ἀσκέοντες τωυτοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, όμοίως αν ό τε άληθιζόμενος ψευδής είη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος άληθής. ος αν μέν νυν των πυλουρῶν ἐκὼν παριῆ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον έσται δς δ' αν αντιβαίνειν πειραται, δεικνύσθω ένθαθτα έων πολέμιος, καὶ ἔπειτα ωσάμενοι ἔσω έργου έχώμεθα."

73. Λέγει Γοβρύης μετά ταῦτα "'Ανδρες φίλοι,

BOOK III. 72-73

72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truthteller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work '

73. Then said Gobryas, "Friends, when shall we

ήμιν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσησι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῆ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα. νῦν ὧν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείω καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθέως." ταῦτα εἶπε Γο-

βρύης, καὶ πάντες ταύτη αἴνεον.

74. Έν ῷ δὲ οὖτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμβύσεω ἀνάρσια, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἡπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίη μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἐόντα ἐν αἴνη μεγίστη τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσησι. τούτων δή μιν είνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι, ἡ μὲν ἔξειν παρ' έωυτῷ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονυῖαν, ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλήιον τεῖχος, κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεῦσαι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλ-

BOOK III. 73-74

have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyses in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyses, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

74. While they were thus planning, matters befell as I will show. The Magians had taken counsel and resolved to make a friend of Prexaspes, because he had been wronged by Cambyses (who had shot his son to death) and because he alone knew of the death of Cyrus' son Smerdis, having himself been the slaver; and further, because Prexaspes was very greatly esteemed by the Persians. Therefore they summoned him and, to gain his friendship, made him to pledge himself and swear that he would never reveal to any man their treacherous dealing with the Persians, but keep it to himself; and they promised to give him all things in great abundance. Prexaspes was persuaded and promised to do their will. Then the Magians made this second proposal to him, that they should summon a meeting of all Persians before the palace wall, and he should go up on to a tower and declare that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia. gave him this charge, because they thought him to

λοντο ώς πιστοτάτου δήθεν εόντος αὐτοῦ εν Πέρσησι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ώς περιείη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ εξαρνησαμένου τὸν

φόνον αὐτοῦ.

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι άνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. δ δε των μεν εκείνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μεν έκων έπελήθετο, αρξάμενος δε άπ' 'Αχαιμένεος έγενεηλόγησε την πατριήν την Κύρου, μετά δὲ ώς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα άγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθών δὲ ταθτα έξέφαινε την άληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μεν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλες λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), εν δε τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δη έλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ώς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος άποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσησι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίατο ὀπίσω την άρχην καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίατο, ἀπηκε έωυτον ἐπὶ κεφαλήν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μέν νυν έων τον πάντα χρόνον άνηρ δόκιμος ούτω έτελεύτησε.

76. Οι δὲ δὴ ἐπτὰ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἤισαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἔν τε δὴ τῆ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὖτις σφίσι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὁτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτί-

BOOK III. 74-76

be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

75. Prexaspes consented to do this also; the Magians summoned the Persians together, and brought him up on to a tower and bade him speak. Then, putting away from his mind all the Magians' demands, he traced the lineage of Cyrus from Achaemenes downwards; when he came at last to the name of Cyrus, he recounted all the good which that king had done to Persia, after which recital he declared the truth; which, he said, he had till now concealed because he could not safely tell it, but was now constrained by necessity to reveal: "I," said he, "was compelled by Cambyses to kill Smerdis son of Cyrus; it is the Magians who now rule you." Then, invoking a terrible curse on the Persians if they failed to win back the throne and take vengeance on the Magians, he threw himself headlong down from the tower; thus honourably ended Prexaspes' honourable life.

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,

θεσθαι, οὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τον Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὼθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἰρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ τήν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἴνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἤισαν

έπὶ τὰ βασιλήια τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι.

77. Ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἶόν τι Δαρείω ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρίεσαν θείῃ πομπῆ χρεωμένους, οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδείς. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι· οἴ σφεας ἱστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἡκοιεν, καὶ ἄμα ἱστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλουροῖσι ἀπείλεον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, ἶσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. οὶ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤισαν δρόμω ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι τηνικαῦτα ἐόντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῆ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὧν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν

BOOK III. 76-78

but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

77. When they came to the gate, that happened which Darius had expected; the guards, out of regard for the chief men in Persia, and because they never suspected their design, suffered them without question to pass in under heaven's guidance. Coming into the court, they met there the eunuchs who carry messages to the king; who asked the seven with what intent they had come, at the same time threatening the gate-wards for letting them pass, and barring the further passage of the seven. These gave each other the word, drew their daggers, and stabbing the eunuchs who barred their way, ran into the men's apartment.

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and

χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἔτερος τῆ αἰχμῆ ἡμύνετο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ᾿Ασπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὕτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἔτερος, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγίνετο, ἢν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καί οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπτὰ δύο, Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγω ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεῶς ἡπόρεε οἶα ἐν σκότεϊ, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξη τὸν Γοβρύης εἴρετο ὅ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῆ χειρί· ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο ""Ωθεε τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος ὧσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

Τ9. 'Αποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας έωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης είνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῆ τε καὶ πατάγω χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεομενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικυύοντες τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ ἄμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίευν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα ποιέειν, σπασάμειοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον εἰ δὲ μὴ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἃν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύ

BOOK III. 78-79

pressing him hard; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike; "For fear of stabbing you," quoth Darius. "Nay," said Gobryas, "thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us." So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

79. Having killed the Magians and cut off their heads, they left their wounded where they were, by reason of their infirmity and to guard the citadel; the other five took the Magians' heads and ran with much shouting and noise, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, when they heard from the seven what had been done and how the Magians had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and slew all the Magians they could find; and if nightfall had not stayed them they would not have left one Magian alive. This day is

την την ημέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινή μάλιστα των ήμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτή ὁρτην μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἡ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια: ἐν τῆ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανηναι ἐς τὸ φως, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους έωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν

ήμέρην ταύτην.

80. Έπείτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ήμερέων έγένετο, έβουλεύοντο οί έπαναστάντες τοίσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ελλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὧν. 'Οτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ές μέσον Πέρσησι καταθείναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. " Εμοί δοκέει ενα μεν ήμεων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι. ούτε γαρ ήδυ ούτε άγαθόν. είδετε μεν γάρ την Καμβύσεω υβριν έπ' ὄσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. κῶς δ΄ ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρτημένον μουναρχίη, τη έξεστι άνευθύνω ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται; και γαρ αν τον άριστον ανδρών πάνων στάντα ές ταύτην έκτος τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γάρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῆθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπφ. δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα τα μεν γαρ ύβρι κεκορημένος έρδει πολλά καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνω. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον έδει εἶναι, έχοντά γε πάντα τὰ άγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας πέφυκε φθονέει γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολάς δε άριστος ενδέκεσθαι. άναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων ήν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζης, άχθεται ότι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ήν τε θερα-

BOOK III. 79-80

the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no Magian may come abroad, but during this day they remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which words were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible: but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for giving the government to the whole body of the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths went the insolence of Cambyses, and you have borne your share of the insolence of the Magian. What right order is there to be found in monarchy, when the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to account for it? Give this power to the best man on earth, and his wonted mind must leave him. The advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is the root of all evil in him; he will do many wicked deeds, some from the insolence which is born of satiety, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe calumny. Nor is any so hard to please; accord him but just honour, and he is displeased that you make him not your first care; make him such, and he damns

πεύη τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἄτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δη μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια καὶ βιᾶται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πληθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὔνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιέει οὐδέν πάλω μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὧν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην τὸ πληθος ἀέξειν ἐν

γάρ τῷ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα."

81. Ότάνης μεν δη ταύτην γνώμην εσεφερε. Μεγάβυζος δε ολιγαρχίη εκέλευε επιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε. "Τὰ μεν 'Οτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω κάμοὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ πληθος άνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης της άρίστης ημάρτηκε ομίλου γαρ αχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι άξυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. καίτοι τυράννου ύβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ές δήμου ἀκολάστου ύβριν πεσείν έστι οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γάρ εί τι ποιέει, γινώσκων ποιέει, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ένι κως γάρ αν γινώσκοι ος ουτ' έδιδάχθη ούτε είδε καλον ούδεν οίκήιον,1 ώθέει τε έμπεσων τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρω ποταμώ εἴκελος; δήμω μέν νυν, οὶ Πέρσησι κακον νοέουσι, ούτοι χράσθων, ήμεις δε άνδρων των αρίστων επιλέξαντες όμιλίην τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ένεσόμεθα άρίστων δε άνδρων οίκος άριστα Βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι."

82. Μεγάβυζος μεν δη ταύτην γνώμην εσέφερε.

¹ MSS οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἰκήιον; Stein brackets οὐδ', as giving a sense not here required. I omit it in translation.

BOOK III. 80-82

you for a flatterer. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he turns the laws of the land upside down, he rapes women, he puts high and low to death. But the virtue of a multitude's rule lies first in its excellent name, which signifies equality before the law; and secondly, in that its acts are not the acts of the monarch. All offices are assigned by lot, and the holders are accountable for what they do therein; and the general assembly arbitrates on all counsels. Therefore I declare my opinion, that we make an end of monarchy and increase the power of the multitude, seeing that all good lies in

the many."

81. Such was the judgment of Otanes: but Megabyzus' counsel was to make a ruling oligarchy. "I agree," said he, "to all that Otanes says against the rule of one; but when he bids you give the power to the multitude, his judgment falls short of the best. Nothing is more foolish and violent than a useless mob; to save ourselves from the insolence of a despot by changing it for the insolence of the unbridled commonalty—that were unbearable indeed. Whatever the despot does, he does with knowledge; but the people have not even that; how can they have knowledge, who have neither learnt nor for themselves seen what is best, but ever rush headlong and drive blindly onward, like a river in spate? Let those stand for democracy who wish ill to Persia; but let us choose a company of the best men and invest these with the power. For we ourselves shall be of that company; and where we have the best men, there 'tis like that we shall have the best counsels."

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.

τρίτος δε Δαρείος απεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων "Έμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πληθος έχοντα δοκέει ορθώς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ολιγαρχίην ούκ όρθως. τριών γάρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῶ λόγω ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ολιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ένὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον αν φανείη γνώμη γαρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος έπιτροπεύοι αν αμωμήτως του πλήθεος, σιγώτό τε αν βουλεύματα έπὶ δυσμενέας ἄνδρας ούτω μάλιστα. έν δὲ όλιγαρχίη πολλοίσι άρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν έχθεα ίδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαίος είναι γνώμησί τε νικάν ές έχθεα μεγάλα άλλήλοισι άπικνέονται, έξ ων στάσιες έγγίνονται, έκ δὲ των στασίων φόνος εκ δε τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ες μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτφ διέδεξε ὅσφ ἐστὶ τοῦτο άριστον. δήμου τε αὖ άρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα έγγίνεσθαι κακότητος τοίνυν έγγινομένης ές τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοίσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί οί γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινα συγκύψαντες ποιεύσι. τούτο δέ τοιούτο γίνεται ές δ αν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύση. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὖτος δὴ ύπο του δήμου, θωμαζόμενος δε αν' ων εφάνη μούναρχος έών, καὶ έν τούτω δηλοί καὶ οὖτος ώς ή μουναρχίη κράτιστον. ένὶ δὲ ἔπεϊ πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἡ όλι-

BOOK III. 82

Darius was the third to declare his opinion. "Methinks," said he, "Megabyzus speaks rightly concerning democracy, but not so concerning oligarchy. For the choice lying between these three, and each of them, democracy, oligarchy and monarchy being supposed to be the best of its kind. I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. Nothing can be found better than the rule of the one best man; his judgment being like to himself, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service ofttimes engenders bitter enmity among them; for each one wishing to be chief of all and to make his counsels prevail, violent enmity is the outcome, enmity brings faction and faction bloodshed; and the end of bloodshed is monarchy; whereby it is shown that this fashion of government is the best. Again, the rule of the commonalty must of necessity engender evil-mindedness; and when evil-mindedness in public matters is engendered, bad men are not divided by enmity but united by close friendship; for they that would do evil to the commonwealth conspire together to do it. This continues till someone rises to champion the people's cause and makes an end of such evil-doing. He therefore becomes the people's idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; so his case also proves that monarchy is the best government. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, whence and by whose gift came our freedomfrom the commonalty or an oligarchy or a single

γαρχίης ή μουνάρχου; έχω τοίνυν γνώμην ήμέας έλευθερωθέντας διὰ ένα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρίς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μή

λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." 83. Γνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὖται προεκέατο, οἰ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτη. ώς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῆ γνώμη ὁ 'Οτάνης Πέρσησι ισονομίην σπεύδων ποιήσαι, έλεξε ές μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. "' Ανδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεί ένα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ήτοι κλήρω γε λαχόντα, η ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τον αν έκεινο έληται, ή άλλη τινί μηχανή. έγω μέν νυν ύμιν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι οὔτε γὰρ άρχειν οὖτε άρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτω δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι της ἀρχης, ἐπ' ὧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἀρξομαι, οὐτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι." τούτου εἴπαντος ταῦτα ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ εξ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, οῦτος μὲν δή σφι οὐκ ένηγωνίζετο άλλ' έκ μέσου κατήστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ή οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη έλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτὴ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ύπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οί δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ώς βασιλέα δικαιότατα στήσονται καί σφι έδοξε 'Οτάνη μεν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ 'Οτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, ην ές άλλον τινα των έπτα έλθη ή βασιληίη, έξαίρετα δίδοσθαι έσθητά τε Μηδικήν ἔτεος έκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἡ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσησι τιμιωτάτη. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οι δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρήγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δή 'Οτάνη έξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ές τὸ κοινὸν έβούλευσαν,

BOOK III. 82-84

ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

83. Having to judge between these three opinions, four of the seven declared for the last. Then Otanes, his proposal to give the Persians equality being defeated, thus spoke among them all: "Friends and partisans! seeing that it is plain that one of us must be made king (whether by lot, or by our suffering the people of Persia to choose whom they will, or in some other way), know that I will not enter the lists with you; I desire neither to rule nor to be ruled; but if I waive my claim to be king, I make this condition, that neither I nor any of my posterity shall be subject to any one of you." To these terms the six others agreed; Otanes took no part in the contest but stood aside; and to this day his house (and none other in Persia) remains free, nor is compelled to render any unwilling obedience, so long as it transgresses no Persian law.

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of

παριέναι ές τὰ βασιλήια πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν έπτὰ ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἢν μὴ τυγχάνη εὕδων μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλέι ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτευ ὰν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγεξηται, ἐν τῷ προαστείφ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων,

τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

85. Δαρείω δὲ ἢν ίπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ ούνομα ην Οίβάρης. προς τούτον τον άνδρα, έπείτε διελύθησαν, έλεξε Δαρείος τάδε. Βαρες, ήμιν δέδοκται περί της βασιληίης ποιέειν κατά τάδε ότευ αν ό ίππος πρώτος φθέγξηται άμα τῷ ἡλίφ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον έχειν την βασιληίην. νθν ων εί τινα έχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ήμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μη άλλος τις." αμείβεται Οίβάρης τοισιδε. "Εί μεν δη ω δέσποτα εν τούτω τοι έστι η βασιλέα είναι η μή, θάρσεε τούτου είνεκεν και θυμον έχε άγαθόν, ώς βασιλεύς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα." λέγει Δαρεῖος "Εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιούτον έχεις σόφισμα, ώρη μηχανασθαι καὶ μη ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ώς της ἐπιούσης ήμέρης ὁ άγων ήμιν ἐστί." ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιέει τοιόνδε ως έγίνετο ή νύξ, των θηλέων ίππων μίαν, την ο Δαρείου ίππος έστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην άγαγων ές το προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε του Δαρείου ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλά περιήγε άγχοῦ τή ἵππφ έγχρίμπτων τή θηλέη, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον.

86. "Αμ' ήμέρη δε διαφωσκούση οι εξ κατά συνεθήκαντο παρήσαν επὶ των ἵππων διεξελαυ-

BOOK III. 84-86

them alike they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he so wished, enter the king's palace unannounced, save if the king were sleeping with a woman; and that it should be forbidden to the king to take a wife saving from the households of the conspirators. As concerning the making of a king, they resolved that he should be elected whose horse, when they were all mounted in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.

85. Now Darius had a clever groom, whose name was Oebares. When the council broke up, Darius said to him: "Oebares, in the matter of the kingship, we are resolved that he shall be king whose horse, when we are all mounted, shall first neigh at sunrise. Now do you devise by whatever cunning you can that we and none other may win this prize." "Master," Oebares answered, "if this is to determine whether you be king or not, you have no cause to fear; be of good courage; no man but you shall be king; trust my arts for that." "Then," said Darius, "if you have any trick such as you say, set about it without delay, for to-morrow is the day of decision." When Oebares heard that he did as I will show. nightfall he brought a mare that was especially favoured by Darius' horse, and tethered her in the suburb of the city; then bringing in Darius' horse, he led him round her near, so as ever and anon to touch her, and at last let the stallion have his way with the mare.

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the

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νόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ώς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίου έγίνουτο ίνα της παροιχομένης νυκτός κατεδέδετο ή θήλεα ίππος, ενθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ίππος προσδραμων έχρεμέτισε άμα δὲ τῷ ίππφ τούτο ποιήσαντι άστραπη έξ αίθρίης και βροντή έγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσε μιν ώσπερ εκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα οί δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρείον.

87. Οὶ μὲν δή φασι τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οὶ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λέγεται ύπὸ Περσέων), ώς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαύσας τῆ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῆσι ἀναξυρίσι ώς δὲ ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι άπίεσθαι μέλλειν τους ίππους, τον Οιβάρεα τουτον έξείραντα την χείρα προς του Δαρείου ίππου τούς μυκτήρας προσενείκαι, τον δε αἰσθόμενον

φριμάξασθαί τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι. 88. Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπε-δέδεκτο, καί οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίη πάντες κατήκοοι πλην 'Αραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ύστερον αὖτις Καμβύσεω. 'Αράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν έπὶ δουλοσύνη Πέρσησι, άλλά ξείνοι έγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀεκόντων γάρ 'Αραβίων οὐκ αν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αίγυπτου, γάμους τε τούς πρώτους έγάμεε Πέρσησι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας "Ατοσσάν τε καὶ 'Αρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν "Ατοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύση τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὖτις τῷ Μάγω, τὴν δὲ ᾿Αρτυστώνην παρθένον· ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῆ ούνομα ην Πάρμυς έσχε δε και την του 'Οτάνεω

BOOK III. 86-88

suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

87. Some say that this was Oebares' plan; but there is another story in Persia besides this: that he touched the mare with his hand, and then kept it hidden in his breeches till the six were about to let go their horses at sunrise; when he took his hand out and held it to the nostrils of Darius' horse, which forthwith snorted and whinnied.

88. So Darius son of Hystaspes was made king, and the whole of Asia, which Cyrus first and Cambyses after him had subdued, was made subject to him, except the Arabians; these did not yield the obedience of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, as having given Cambyses passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians. Darius took wives from the noblest houses of Persia, marrying Cyrus' daughters Atossa and Artystone; Atossa had been wife of her brother Cambyses and afterwards of the Magian, Artystone was a virgin. He married also Parmys, daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis, and that daughter of Otanes who had discovered

θυγατέρα, η του Μάγον κατάδηλου ἐποίησε· δυνάμίος τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μέν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε· ζῷον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνηρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Δαρείος ὁ 'Υστάσπεος σύν τε τοῦ ίππου τῆ ἀρετῆ" τὸ οὔνομα λέγων "καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην."

89. Ποιήσας δε ταθτα έν Πέρσησι άρχας κατεστήσατο είκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπηίας. καταστήσας δε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ετάξατο φόρους οί προσιέναι κατά έθνεά τε καὶ προς τοίσι έθνεσι τους πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ύπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ έκαστέρω άλλοισι άλλα έθνεα νέμων. άρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον την ἐπέτειον κατά τάδε διείλε. τοίσι μέν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμον τάλαντον άπαγινέειν, τοίσι δέ χρυσίον απαγινέουσι Ευβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοίδας όκτὼ καὶ έβδομήκοιτα μνέας.1 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὖτις Καμβύσεω ἢν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, άλλα δώρα αγίνεον. δια δέ ταύτην την επίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτη άλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ώς Δαρείος μεν ην κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὁ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπός τε ἦν καὶ ολίγωρος, δ δὲ ὅτι ἤπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθά σφι πάντα έμηχανήσατο.

¹ The MSS. have Εὐβοίδας ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας; but the reading given is now generally adopted. As the weight-relation of the Persian silver stater to the Persian gold stater—the unit, of which 3000 composed the talent—was 3:4, the

BOOK III. 88-89

the truth about the Magian; and the whole land was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, whereon was graven the figure of a horseman, with this inscription: "Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse" (here followed the horse's name) "and of Oebares

his groom, won the kingdom of Persia."

89. Having so done in Persia, he divided his dominions into twenty governments, called by the Persians satrapies 1; and doing so and appointing governors, he ordained that each several nation should pay him tribute; to this end he united each nation with its closest neighbours, and, beyond these nearest lands, assigned those that were farther off some to one and some to another nation. I will now show how he divided his governments and the tributes which were paid him yearly. Those that paid in silver were appointed to render the weight of a Babylonian talent; those that paid in gold, an Euborc talent; the Babylonian talent being equal to seventy-eight Euboïc minae. In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is by reason of this fixing of tribute, and other like ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the huckster, Cambyses the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyses was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and ever wrought for their well-being.

¹ On the following list see the introduction to this book.

total silver or Babylonian talent equalled 1½ of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.

90. 'Απὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τη 'Ασίη και Αιολέων και Καρών και Λυκίων και Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων (είς γὰρ ἢν οἱ τεταγμένος οὖτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα άργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὖτός οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ 'Υτεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομός ούτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν έπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν έν τη 'Ασίη καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνών καὶ Συρίων έξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ην φόρος νομός τρίτος ούτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι τε λευκοί έξήκοντα καί τριηκόσιοι, έκάστης ήμέρης είς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα άργυρίου πεντακόσια: τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ έκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ίππον την Κιλικίην χώρην αναισιμούτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ έξήκοντα Δαρείω ἐφοίτα· νομός τέταρτος ούτος.

91. 'Απὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, τὴν 'Αμφίλοχος ὁ 'Αμφιάρεω οἴκισε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς 'Αραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἢν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἢν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῷ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὖτος. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτω καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὖται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρουμένου] σίτου προσήιε

90. The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of three hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytennians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. An hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius.

91. The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochus son of Amphiaraus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenice, and the part of Syria called Palestine, and Cyprus. The sixth province was Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all which were included in the province of Egypt. Hence came seven hundred talents, besides the revenue of silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver and the measure of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for an

έπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὖτος. Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ ᾿Απαρύται ἐς τὼυτὸ τεταγμένοι ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὖτος ἔβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρης τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὖτος.

92. 'Απὸ Βαβυλώνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς 'Ασσυρίης χίλιά οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παίδες ἐκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι νομὸς εἴνατος οὖτος. ἀπὸ δὲ 'Αγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ 'Ορθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα νομός δέκατος οὖτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τώυτὸ συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα

άπαγίνεον νομός ένδέκατος ούτος.

93. 'Απὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ῆν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὖτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ 'Αρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆσι νήσοισι οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῆ 'Ερυθρῆ θαλάσση, ἐν τῆσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων έξακόσια τάλαντα έγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε

BOOK III. 91-93

hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

92. Babylon and the rest of Assyria rendered to Darius a thousand talents of silver and five hundred boys to be eunuchs; this was the ninth province; Agbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and was the tenth province. The eleventh comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi,

and Daritae, paying jointly two hundred;

93. The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands adjoining thereto as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the dwellers on those islands of the southern sea wherein the king plants the people said to be "removed"; these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians,

¹ The regular term for the peoples or individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the ἀνα- implying removal from the sea to the highlands.

καὶ "Αρειοι τριηκόσια τάλαντα νομὸς έκτος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος.

94. Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἔβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ ᾿Αλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρωσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο· νομὸς εἴνατος καὶ δέκατος οὖτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῷ πλεῖστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὖτος.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα·¹ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὐρίσκεται ἐὸν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. τούτων ὧν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείω μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον

απιείς οὐ λέγω.

96. Οὖτος Δαρείφ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε ᾿Ασίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη μέχρι Θεσσαλίης

¹ The MSS. have τεσσαράκοντα και πεντακόσια και είν. τ.; but the alteration given here is generally accepted and is necessary in view of the total given below. The 19 tributes

BOOK III. 93-96

Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred.

94. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia, being the seventeenth, paid four hundred; the Matieni, Saspiri, and Alarodii were the eighteenth, and two hundred talents were the appointed tribute. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci, and Mares, the nineteenth province, were ordered to pay three hundred. The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation known to me, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.

95. Now if these Babylonian talents be reckoned in Euboïc money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty Euboïc talents: and the gold coin being counted as thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold-dust is found to be of the worth of four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboïc talents. Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents; I take no account of figures less than ten.

96. This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on he drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe, as far as Thessaly. The tribute is stored by

make up 7,600 Babylonian talents, that is, on the 3:4 relation (see ch. 89), 9,880 Euboic talents; add the Indian tribute (4,680 talents) and the total is 14,500.

οἰκημένων. τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπω τοιώδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχέει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῆ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο

όσου αν έκάστοτε δέηται.

97. Αθται μεν άρχαί τε ήσαν καὶ φόρων επιτάξιες. ή Περσίς δε χώρη μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· άτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρην. οίδε δε φόρον μεν οὐδενα ετάχθησαν φέρειν, δώρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Λίθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτω, τοὺς Καμβύσης έλαύνων έπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Λίθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, οί τε 1 περί τε Νύσην την ίρην κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσω ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὁρτάς. [οὖτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόγωροι τούτοισι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλ-λαντίαι Ἰνὸοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγαια.]² οῦτοι συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, άγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας άπύρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας έβένου καὶ πέντε παίδας Αιθίοπας καὶ έλέφαντος όδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχέες μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὅρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὅρος ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ προς βορέην άνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδεν έτι φροντίζει), οθτοι ών δώρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ές έμε δια πεντετηρίδος άγίνεον, έκατον παίδας

² The words in brackets are probably a commentator's note drawn from ch. 101. The Καλλαντίαι are obviously

the Kallarlar of ch. 38.

¹ of $\tau\epsilon$; MSS. of; Stein places a lacuna before of, because the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt did not, he says, live near Nysa; at the same time he suggests the easy correction of $\tau\epsilon$, which I adopt.

BOOK III. 96-97

the king in this fashion: he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money cuts off as much as will serve his purpose.

97. These were the several governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary; for the Persians dwell free from all taxes. As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa,1 where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. [The seed of these Ethiopians and their neighbours is like the seed of the Indian Callantiae; they live underground.] These together brought every third year and still bring a gift of two choenixes 2 of pure gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians); these were rendered every five years and are still so rendered, namely, an hundred boys and as many maidens.

² The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a

quart.

¹ Probably the mountain called Barkal in Upper Nubia; this is called "sacred" in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

καὶ ἐκατὸν παρθένους. ᾿Αράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πῶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλέι ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τον δε χρυσον τοῦτον τον πολλον οι Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οῦ το ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλέι τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτῶνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰλσίη Ἰνδοί Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐρημίη ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οὶ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οὶ δὲ οὔ, οὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἕλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ἀμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὁρμωμενοι καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιέεται. οὖτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοΐνην ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99. 'Αλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἢῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῶν ἐδεσταὶ ὡμῶν, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι δς ἄν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἤν τε γυνὴ ἤν τε ἀνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὁμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῆ νούσῷ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθείρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται. ἡ δὲ ἂν γυνὴ κάμῃ, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταὐτὰ τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ

BOOK III. 97-99

The Arabians rendered a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly. Such were the gifts of these

peoples to the king, besides the tribute.

98. All this abundance of gold, whence the Indians send the aforesaid gold-dust to the king, they win in such manner as I will show. All to the east of the Indian country is sand; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia; for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand. There are many Indian nations, none speaking the same language; some of them are nomads, some not; some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish. which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed.1 These Indians wear clothes of rushes; they mow and cut these from the river, then plait them crosswise like a mat, and put it on like a breastplate.

99. Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when any of their countryfolk male or female are sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that they lose his flesh by the wasting of the disease; though he denies that he is sick, yet they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick she is put to death like the men by the women who most consort with her. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh;

¹ Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.

πολλοί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν

ές νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

100. Έτέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὅδε ἄλλος τρόπος οὕτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὕτε τι σπείρουσι οὕτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσί τε καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῆ τῆ κάλυκι ἕψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. δς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέση, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀποθα-

νόντος ούτε κάμνοντος.

101. Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι κατά περ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατά περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκή, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατά περ τὸ χρῶμα. τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορήν. οὖτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος

οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

102. "Αλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῆ Πακτυϊκῆ χώρη εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οὶ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὖτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὖτοι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐρημίη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἐν δὴ ὧν τῆ ἐρημίη ταύτη καὶ τῆ ψάμμω γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέι τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὖτοι

BOOK III. 99-102

but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

100. There are other Indians, again, who kill no living creature, nor sow, nor are wont to have houses; they eat grass, and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its calyx, about the size of a millet-seed, which they gather with the calyx and roast and eat. When any one of them falls sick he goes into the desert and lies there, none regarding whether he be sick or die.

101. These Indians of whom I speak have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not white like other men's, but like the Ethiopians' black. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians southwards, and were no subjects of King Darius.

102. Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, northward of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold; for in these parts all is desert by reason of the sand. There are found in this sandy desert ants 2 not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught

¹ N.E Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said

to be probably Cabul.

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It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.

ῶν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατά περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἐλλησι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσῖτις. ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευξάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἤσσονες ἐς ταχυτῆτα εἰσί, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Το μεν δη είδος οκοίον τι έχει η κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοίσι Ελλησι οὐ συγγράφω· το δὲ μη ἐπιστέαται αὐτης, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηροὺς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τά τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισ-

θίων σκελέων προς την ούρην τετραμμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπω τοιούτω καὶ ζεύξι τοιαύτη χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅκως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῆ ἀρπαγῆ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἑωθινόν, οὐ κατά περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι μεσαμβρίης, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὖ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆ μεσαμβρίη τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τούς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς. ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίης γίνεταί σφι ὁ ῆλιος

BOOK III. 102-104

there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

103. I do not describe the camel's appearance to Greeks, for they know it; but I will show them a thing which they do not know concerning it: the hindlegs of the camel have four thighbones and four knee-joints; its privy parts are turned towards the tail between the hindlegs.

104. Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, using all diligence that they shall be about the business of taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight underground. Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is well nigh the same in India and elsewhere. As it grows to afternoon, the sun of

κατά περ τοίσι άλλοισι ό έωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου άπιων έπὶ μαλλον ψύχει, ές δ έπὶ δυσμήσι

έων καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει.

105. Έπεαν δε έλθωσι ές τον χώρον οί Ίνδοί έχοντες θυλάκια, έμπλήσαντες ταθτα της ψάμμου την ταχίστην έλαύνουσι όπίσω αυτίκα γάρ οί μύρημκες οδμή, ως δη λέγεται ύπο Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. είναι δε ταχυτήτα οὐδενὶ έτέρω όμοιον, ούτω ώστε, εί μη προλαμβάνειν τους Ίνδους της όδου εν ώ τους μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα αν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μέν νυν έρσενας των καμήλων, είναι γαρ ήσσονας θέειν των θηλέων, παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ όμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμνησκο-μένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. τον μεν δή πλέω του χρυσού ούτω οί Ἰνδοί κτώνται, ώς Πέρσαι φασί άλλος δε σπανιώτερος έστι έν τη χώρη όρυσσόμενος.

106. Αί δ' ἐσχατιαί κως της οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα έλαχον, κατά περ ή Έλλας τας ώρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας έλαχε. τοῦτο μέν γάρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ Ίνδική έστι, ώσπερ ολίγω πρότερου είρηκα έν ταύτη τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλώ μέζω ή έν τοίσι άλλοισι χωρίοισι έστί, πάρεξ των ίππων (ούτοι δὲ έσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων), τούτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστί, ὁ μὲν ορυσσόμενος, δ δε καταφορεύμενος ύπο ποταμών, δ δε ώσπερ έσήμηνα άρπαζόμ νος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ άγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν είρια καλλονή τε προφέρουτα καὶ ἀρετή των ἀπὸ των δίων.

BOOK III. 104-106

India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

105. So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and ride away back with all speed; for, as the Persians say, the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being, it would seem, so much swifter than all other creatures that if the Indians made not haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape. So they loose the male trace-camels that they lead, one at a time (these being slower than the females); the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians; there is some besides that they dig from mines in their country, but it is less abundant.

106. It would seem that the fairest blessings have been granted to the most distant nations of the world, whereas in Hellas the seasons have by much the kindliest temperature. As I have lately said, India lies at the world's most distant eastern limit; and in India all living creatures four-footed and flying are by much bigger than those of other lands, except the horses, which are smaller than the Median horses called Nesaean; moreover the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers or got as I have shown, is very abundant. There too there grows on wild trees wool more beautiful and excellent than the wool

καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων

χρέωνται.

107. Πρὸς δ' αν μεσαμβρίης ἐσχάτη 'Αραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστί, ἐν δὲ ταύτη λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ 'Αράβιοι. τὸν μέν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς "Ελληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἴδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον, οὖτοι οἴ περ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλφ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

108. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τόδε ᾿Αράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἶόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἤπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. καὶ κως τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφή, ὅσα μὲν ¹ ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνιηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μέν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δή τι πολύγονον ἐστί: ἐπικυίσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῆ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῆσι μήτρησι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

¹ δσα μèν γὰρ MSS.; Stein brackets γάρ, which obviously has no place here.

BOOK III. 106-108

of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

107. Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries: and this is the only country which yields frankincense and myrrh and casia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these but myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. They gather frankincense by burning that storax ¹ which Phoenicians carry to Hellas; this they burn and so get the frankincense; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied colour, many round each tree; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing save the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees.

108. The Arabians also say that the whole country would be full of these snakes were it not with them as I have heard that it is with vipers. It would seem that the wisdom of divine Providence (as is but reasonable) has made all creatures prolific that are cowardly and fit to eat, that they be not minished from off the earth by devouring, whereas but few young are born to creatures cruel and baneful. The hare is so prolific, for that it is the prey of every beast and bird and man; alone of all creatures it conceives in pregnancy; some of the unborn young are hairy, some still naked; while some are still forming in the womb others are already being chased and killed. But whereas this is so with

¹ A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.

τοιοῦτο ἐστί· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἄπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἔν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστί· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῆ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστί, καὶ τὸ

παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ύγιες οὐδέν.

109. 'Ως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναί τε καὶ οἱ ἐν 'Αρα-βίοισι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιες εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἢν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι. νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ ή ὁ ἔρσην τη ἐκποιήσι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ή θήλεα άπτεται της δειρης, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ άνιει πρίν αν διαφάγη. ὁ μεν δη έρσην άποθνήσκει τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένω, ή δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε αποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι τῷ γονέι τιμωρέοντα έτι έν τῆ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς ούτω τὴν έκδυσιν ποιέεται. οί δε άλλοι όφιες εόντες άνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσί τε ώὰ καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρημα των τέκνων. αί μέν νυν έγιδυαι κατά πάσαν την γην είσί, οί δὲ ύπόπτεροι όφιες άθρόοι είσὶ έν τη 'Αραβίη καὶ οὐδαμη άλλη κατά τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοί εἶναι.

110. Τον μεν δη λιβανωτον τουτον ούτω κτώνται 'Αράβιοι, την δε κασίην ώδε. επεάν καταδήσωνται βύρσησι και δέρμασι άλλοισι πάν το σώμα και το πρόσωπον πλην αυτών των όφθαλμων, έρχονται έπι την κασίην ή δε έν λίμνη φύεται ου βαθέη, περί δε αυτήν και έν αυτή

BOOK III. 108-110

the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

109. It is so too with vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia: were they born in the natural manner of serpents no life were possible for men; but as it is, when they pair, and the male is in the very act of generation, the female seizes him by the neck, nor lets go her grip till she have devoured him. Thus the male dies; but the female is punished for his death; the young avenge their father, and eat their mother while they are yet within her; nor are they dropped from her till they have devoured her womb. Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be many; but it is because (whereas there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are nowhere else found.

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it are

αὐλίζεταί κου θηρία πτερωτά, τῆσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν

όφθαλμών ούτω δρέπειν την κασίην.

111. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ήτις μιν γη ή τρέφουσα έστί, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλην ότι λόγω οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασί τινές αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος έτράφη· ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δε τας όρνιθας ές νεοσσιάς προσπεπλασμένας έκ πηλοῦ προς αποκρήμνοισι όρεσι, ένθα πρόσβασιν ανθρώπω οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Αραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ώς μέγιστα κομίζειν ές ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καί σφεα θέντας άγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι έκὰς αὐτέων τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετομένας 1 τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν έπὶ τὰς νεοσσιάς, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ίσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι έπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. ούτω μέν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον έκ τούτων απικνέεσθαι ές τὰς άλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι ᾿Αράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωμασιώτερον γίνεται ἐν γὰρ δυσοδμοτάτω γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστί τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἶον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ᾽ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί, θυμιῶσί τε

μάλιστα τοῦτο 'Αράβιοι.

¹ καταπετομένας [αὐτῶν] Stein.

BOOK III. 110-112

encamped certain winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak shrilly and make a stout resistance; these must be kept from the men's eyes if the casia is to be plucked.

111. As for cinnamon, they gather it in a fashion even stranger. Where it grows and what kind of land nurtures it they cannot say, save that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysus was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these sticks which the Phoenicians have taught us to call cinnamon, and carry them off to nests built of mud on the mountain crags, where no man can approach. The Arabian device for defeating the birds is to cut into very large pieces dead oxen and asses and other beasts of burden, then to set these near the eyries, withdrawing themselves far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the morsels of the beasts up to their nests; which not being able to bear the weight break and fall down the mountain side; and then the Arabians come up and gather what they seek. Thus is cinnamon said to be gathered, and so to come from Arabia to other lands.

112. But gum-mastich, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like treegum. This is used in the making of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn for fragrance,

113. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς ᾿Αραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα ὀίων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἑτέρωθι ἐστί. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακράς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἕλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῆ γῆ τῶν οὐρέων νῦν δ᾽ ἄπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργέειν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῆσι οὐρῆσι, ἐνὸς ἑκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν ὀίων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114. Αποκλινομένης δε μεσαμβρίης παρήκει προς δύνοντα ήλιον ή Αίθιοπίη χώρη εσχάτη των οίκεομενέων αύτη δε χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλον καὶ ελέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ εβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους

καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115. Αὐται μέν νυν ἔν τε τῆ ᾿Ασίη ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῆ Λιβύη. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὕτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἡριδανὸν καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ᾽ ὅτευ τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστί, οὕτε νήσους οἰδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορέει τὸ οὕνομα ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα

BOOK 111. 113-115

113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has tails a full cubit broad.

114. Where south inclines westwards, the part of the world stretching farthest towards the sunset is Ethiopia; here is great plenty of gold, and abundance of elephants, and all woodland trees, and ebony; and the people are the tallest and fairest and longest-lived of all men.

115. These then are the most distant parts of the world in Asia and Libya. But concerning the farthest western parts of Europe I cannot speak with exactness; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, whence our amber is said to come, nor have I any knowledge of Tin-islands, whence our tin is brought. The very name of the Eridanus bewrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet; nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe. This only we

Εὐρωπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾳ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.
116. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τι πλείστος χρυσός φαίνεται έών ὅκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ έχω οὐδε τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δε ύπεκ των γρυπων άρπάζειν 'Αριμασπούς άνδρας μουνοφθάλμους. πείθομαι δε οὐδε τοῦτο ὅκως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες την άλλην όμοίην τοίσι άλλοισι άνθρώποισι αί δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ έντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ήμιν είναι και σπανιώτατα έχειν αὖται.

117. Έστι δὲ πεδίου ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίη περικεκληιμένον ὄρεϊ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὅρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἢν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, έν οὔροισι έὸν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Υρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέος. ἐκ δη ὧν τοῦ περι-κληίοντος ὄρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ "Ακης. οὖτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης έκαστοισι έπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρση εἰσί, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὀρέων ἐνδείμας ό βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ' ἑκάστη διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκληιμένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον το έντος των ορέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ένδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῆ έξήλυσιν. ούτοι ων οί περ έμπροσθε εώθεσαν

BOOK III. 115-117

know, that our tin and amber come from the most

distant parts.

116. This is also plain, that to the north of Europe there is by far more gold than elsewhere. In this matter again I cannot with certainty say how the gold is got; some will have it that one-eyed men called Arimaspians steal it from griffins. But this too I hold incredible, that there can be men in all else like other men, yet having but one eye. Suffice it that it is but reasonable that the most distant parts of the world, as they enclose and wholly surround all other lands, should have those things which we deem best and rarest.

117. There is in Asia a plain surrounded by mountains, through which mountains there are five clefts.1 This plain belonged formerly to the Chorasmians; it adjoins the land of the Chorasmians themselves, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangeis, and Thamanaei; but since the Persians have held sway it has been the king's own land. Now from the encircling mountains flows a great river called Aces. Its stream divides into five channels, and watered formerly the lands of the peoples aforesaid by passing to them severally through the five clefts; but since the beginning of the Persian rule the king has blocked the mountain clefts, and closed each passage with a gate; the water thus barred from outlet, the plain within the mountains becomes a lake, seeing that the river pours into it and finds no way out. Those therefore who formerly used

¹ All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say Messrs. How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."

χρασθαι τῷ ΰδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρασθαι συμφορή μεγάλη διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ΰει σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ανθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρηίσκονται τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὰν ὧν μηδέν σφι παραδιδώται του ύδατος, έλθόντες ές τους Πέρσας αὐτοί τε καὶ γιναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος βοῶσι ὡρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς τοίσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας. έπεαν δε διάκορος ή γή σφεων γένηται πίνουσα το ύδωρ, αθται μεν αί πύλαι ἀποκληίονται, άλλας δ' εντέλλεται άνοίγειν άλλοισι τοίσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ανοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ

φύρου.

118. Ταθτα μεν δη έχει ούτω. των δε τῷ Μάγῳ έπαναστάντων έπτὰ ἀιδρῶν, ἕνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ύβρίσαντα τάδε άποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετά την έπανάστασιν. ήθελε ές τὰ βασιλήια έσελθων χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλέι καὶ γὰρ δή καὶ ὁ νόμος ούτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ έσοδον είναι παρά βασιλέα ἄνευ άγγέλου, ήν μή γυναικί τυγχάνη μισγόμενος βασιλεύς. ούκων δή Ίνταφρένης έδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ότι ην των έπτά, ἐσιέναι ήθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιέει τοιάδε σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τά τε ὧτα καί τὰς ρίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περί τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ίππου περί τους αυχένας σφέων έδησε, και άπηκε.

BOOK III. 117-118

the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.

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119. Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλέι δεικνύουσι έωυτοὺς καὶ την αιτίην είπον δι' ην πεπονθότες είησαν. Δαρείσος δε άρρωδήσας μη κοινῷ λόγφ οί εξ πεποιηκότες έωσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ένα έκαστον ἀπεπειράτο γνώμης, εί συνέπαινοι είσι τῷ πεποιημένφ. έπείτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ώς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, έλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ίνταφρένεα καὶ τούς παίδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τούς οἰκηίους πάντας, έλπίδας πολλάς έχων μετά τῶν συγγενέων μιν έπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφέας έδησε την επὶ θανάτω. ή δὲ γυνη τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτώσα έπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος κλαίεσκε αν και όδυρέσκετο ποιεύσα δε αίει τωυτό τούτο τον Δαρείον έπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ άγγελον έλεγε τάδε· "Ω γύναι, βασιλεύς τοι Δαρείος διδοί ένα των δεδεμένων οἰκηίων ρύσασθαι τον βούλεαι έκ πάντων." ή δε βουλευσαμένη ύπεκρίνετο τάδε. "Εί μεν δή μοι διδοί βασιλεύς ένος την ψυχήν, αίρέομαι έκ πάντων τον άδελφεόν." πυθύμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἢγόρευε "³Ω γύναι, εἰρωτᾳ σε βασιλεύς, τίνα έχουσα γνώμην, τον άνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν είλευ περιείναί τοι, ος καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ήσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δ' αμείβετο τοισιδε. " Ω βασιλεύ, ανήρ μέν μοι αν άλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα άλλα, εὶ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκέτι μευ ζωόντων άδελφεὸς αν άλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπω γένοιτο. ταύτη τῆ γνώμη χρεωμένη έλεξα ταῦτα." εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείω εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καί οἰ απηκε τουτόν τε του παραιτέετο και των παίδων

BOOK III. 119

119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his householdfor he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomsoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her: "Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." "O King," she answered, "another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good; he delivered to the woman him for

τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐπτὰ εἰς αὐτίκα

τρόπφ τῷ εἰρημένφ ἀπολώλεε.

120. Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεω νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἡν Σαρδίων υπαρχος 'Οροίτης άνηρ Πέρσης ούτος επεθύμησε πρήγματος ούκ όσίου ούτε γάρ τι παθών ούτε ἀκούσας μάταιον έπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρότερου, ἐπεθύμεε λαβων αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ώς μεν οί πλεῦνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων κατήμενον τόν τε 'Οροίτεα καὶ άλλον Πέρσην τῷ ούνομα είναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομού ἄρχοντα τοῦ έν Δασκυλείω, τούτους έκ λόγων ές νείκεα συμπεσείν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπείν τὸν Μιτροβάτεα τῷ 'Οροίτη προφίραντα " Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγω, δς βασιλέι νήσον Σάμον προς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὧδε δή τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθηναι, την των τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα όπλίτησι έπαναστας έσχε και νύν αὐτης τυραννεύει." οί μεν δή μιν φασί τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνείδεϊ ἐπιθυμήσαι οὐκ οὕτω τον είπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ώς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὅντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

121. Οι δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι 'Οροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτευ δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὧν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ 'Ανακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον' καί κως εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ 'Οροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίη τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο' τόν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν 'Οροίτεω παρελθύντα

BOOK III. 119-121

whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

120. What I will now relate happened about the time of Cambyses' sickness. The viceroy of Sardis appointed by Cyrus was Oroetes, a Persian. This man purposed to do a great wrong; for though he had received no hurt by deed or word from Polycrates of Samos, nor had even seen him, he formed the desire of seizing and killing him. The reason alleged by most was this: - As Oroetes and another Persian, Mitrobates by name, governor of the province at Dascyleium, sat by the king's door, they fell from talk to wrangling and comparing of their several achievements: and Mitrobates taunted Oroetes, saying, "You are not to be accounted a man; the island of Samos lies close to your province, yet you have not added it to the king's dominion—an island so easy to conquer that some native of it rose against his rulers with fifteen men at arms, and is now lord of it." 1 Some say that Oroetes, angered by this taunt, was less desirous of punishing the utterer of it than of by all means destroying the reason of the reproach, namely Polycrates.

121. Others (but fewer) say that when Oroetes sent a herald to Samos with some request (it is not said what this was), the herald found Polycrates lying n the men's apartments, in the company of Anacreon of Teos; and, whether by design to show contempt for Oroetes, or by mere chance, when Oroetes' herald

διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰς ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὕτε τι μετα-

στραφηναι ούτε ύποκρίνασθαι.

122. Αἰτίαι μεν δη αὖται διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρη τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ων 'Οροίτης ίζομενος έν Μαγνησίη τη ύπερ Μαιάνδρου ποταμού οἰκημένη ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω άνδρα Λυδον ές Σάμον άγγελίην φέρουτα, μαθών τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τον νόου. Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων δς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κυωσσίου και εί δή τις άλλος πρότερος τούτου δρξε της θαλάσσης· της ζε ανθρωπηίης λεγομένης γενεής Πολυκράτης πρώτος, έλπίδας πολλάς έχων Ίωνίης τε καὶ νήσων άρξειν. μαθών ὧν ταῦτά μιν διανοεύμενον ό 'Οροίτης πέμψας άγγελίην έλεγε τάδε. "'Οροίτης Πολυκράτει ώδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι επιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ είναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ώδε ποιήσας ορθώσεις μεν σεωυτόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφη-νέως. σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν είνεκεν τε χρημάτων άρξεις άπάσης της Έλλάδος. εὶ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον όστις τοι πιστότατος τυγγάνει έών, τῶ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω."

123. Ταθτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ήσθη τε καὶ εβούλετο καί κως ἱμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως. ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαι-

BOOK III. 121-123

entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

122. These are the two reasons alleged for Polycrates' death; believe which you will. But the upshot was that Oroetes, being then at Magnesia which stands above the river Maeander, sent Myrsus, son of Gyges, a Lydian, with a message to Samos, having learnt Polycrates' purpose; for Polycrates was the first Greek, of whom I have knowledge, to aim at the mastery of the sea, leaving out of account Minos of Cnossus and any others who before him held maritime dominion; of such as may be called men Polycrates was the first so to do, and he had great hope of making himself master of Ionia and the Islands. Learning then that such was his intent, Oroetes sent him this message: "These from Oroetes to Polycrates:-I learn that you plan great enterprises, and that you have not money sufficient for your purpose. Do then as I counsel and you will make yourself to prosper and me to be safe. King Cambyses designs my death; of this I have clear intelligence. Now if you will bring me away with my money, you may take part of it for yourself and leave the rest with me; thus shall you have wealth enough to rule all Hellas. If you mistrust what I tell you of the money, send your trustiest minister and I will prove it to him."

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,

ανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἢν γραμματιστής τος χρόνω οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ ἸΙραιον. ὁ δὲ ἸΟροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίεε τοιάδε λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλην κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χείλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ

Πολυκράτεϊ.

124. 'Ο δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορεύόντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε,
πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου
τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε οἶ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἢέρι μετέωρον
ἐόντα λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ
τοῦ ἡλίου. ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίη ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν
'Οροίτεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δέ οἱ ἢπείλησε, ἢν σῶς
ἀπονοστήσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι.
ἢ δὲ ἢρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι
γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐστερῆσθαι.

125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίης ἀλογήσας ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν 'Οροίτεα, ἄμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκήδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιήτην ἄνδρα, ἰητρόν τε ἐόντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἑωυτόν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φρονημάτων ὅτι γὰρ μὴ

BOOK III. 123-125

Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to look into the matter; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid adornment of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. When Oroetes heard that an inspection was to be looked for, he filled eight chests with stones, saving only a very shallow layer at the top; then he laid gold on the surface of the stones, made the chests fast and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master.

124. Polycrates then prepared to visit Oroetes, despite the strong dissuasion of his diviners and friends, and a vision seen by his daughter in a dream; she dreamt that she saw her father aloft in the air, washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun; after this vision she used all means to persuade him not to go on this journey to Oroetes; even as he went to his fifty-oared ship she prophesied evil for him. When Polycrates threatened her that if he came back safe, she should long remain a virgin, she answered with a prayer that his threat might be fulfilled: for she would rather, she said, be long left a virgin than lose her father.

125. But Polycrates would listen to no counsel. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Crotona and the most skilful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was foully murdered, making an end which ill beseemed himself and his pride; for,

οί Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἶς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιος ἐστὶ Πολυκράτεϊ μεγαλοπρεπείην συμβληθ ῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος 'Οροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε τῶν δέ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἑωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος εἶχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὅψιν τῆς θυγατρός ελοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὕοι, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιεὶς

αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεος μεν δη αί πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ές τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῆ οἱ "Αμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς προεμαντεύσατο. 1 χρόνω δε οὐ πολλώ ύστερον καὶ 'Οροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετήλθον. μετά γάρ τον Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων την βασιληίην μένων εν τησι Σάρδισι Όροίτης ωφέλεε μεν οὐδεν Πέρσας ύπο Μήδων άπαραιρημένους την άρχην ο δε εν ταύτη τη ταραχή κατὰ μεν έκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὕπαρχον, ὅς οἱ ἀνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα έχοντα, κατά δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παίδα Κρανάσπην, άνδρας έν Πέρσησι δοκίμους, άλλα τε έξύβρισε παντοία καί τινα άγγελιηφόρον έλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτόν, ώς οὐ πρὸς ήδονήν οί ην τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν οπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' όδών, ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν ήφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππω.

¹ Stein brackets $\tau \hat{y} \dots \pi \rho o \epsilon \mu a \nu \tau \epsilon b \sigma a \tau \sigma$, because Amasis did not actually prophesy the details; but the words may well stand.

BOOK III. 125-126

saving only the despots of Syracuse, there is no despot of Greek race to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. Having killed him (in some way not worth the telling) Oroetes then crucified him; as for the Samians in his retinue he let them go, bidding them thank Oroetes for their freedom; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates' followers, he kept for slaves. So Polycrates was hanged aloft, and thereby his daughter's dream came true; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and the moisture from his body was his anointment by the sun.

126. This was the end of Polycrates' many successes, as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitrobates' son, Cranaspes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man's body and horse.

127. Δαρείος δὲ ώς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμες τον 'Οροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων των άδικημάτων είνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. έκ μεν δή της ίθέης στρατον έπ' αὐτον οὐκ έδόκες πέμπειν άτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὁροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τόν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. πρὸς ταῦτα δη ὧν ό Δαρείος τάδε έμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τους δοκιμωτάτους έλεγε σφι τάδε. " Ω Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίη καὶ μη βίη τε καὶ ὁμίλω; ένθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης έργον οὐδέν ύμέων δε ων τίς μοι 'Οροίτεα ή ζώοντα άγάγοι ή άποκτείνειε; δς ωφέλησε μέν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μεν δύο ήμεων ηίστωσε, Μιτροβάτεά τε καὶ τον παίδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμεῦ κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετον φαίνων. πρίν τι ων μέζον έξεργάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος έστι ήμιν θανάτω."

128. Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἐθέλων ποιέ-ειν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρείος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαίος ο Αρτόντεω· λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαίος ποιέει τάδε· βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγίδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἤιε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ 'Οροίτεω ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθών, τῶν βυβλίων εν ἕκαστον περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ

127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians. whom he thus addressed: "Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand-which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore death must stay him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil."

128. At this question thirty men promised that they were ready each for himself to do the king's will. Darius bade them not contend but draw lots; they all did so, and the lot fell on Bagaeus, son of Artontes. He, thus chosen, got written many letters concerning many matters; then sealing them with Darius' seal he went with them to Sardis. Coming there into Oroetes' presence he took out each letter severally and gave it to one of the royal scribes who attend all

γραμματιστή τῷ βασιληίῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληίους οἱ πάντες ὕπαρχοι ἔχουσι ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίατο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ 'Οροίτεω. ὁρέων δὲ σφέας τά τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε "'Ω Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ὰπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορέειν 'Οροίτεα." οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστή, ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο 'Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσησι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν 'Οροίτεα." οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραυτίκα μιν, οὕτω δὴ 'Οροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

129. 'Απικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν 'Οροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνω οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρη θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπ' ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. καί κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἰητρικήν, τούτοισι ἐχρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. ἐπ' ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίησι εἴχετο· τῷ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόŋ ἡμέρη ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημο-

governors, for him to read; giving the letters with intent to try the spearmen and learn if they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. Seeing that they paid great regard to the rolls and yet more to what was written therein, he gave another, wherein were these words: "Persians! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard," which when the guard heard they threw down their spears. When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter thus far, he took heart and gave the last roll to the scribe, wherein were these words: "King Darius charges the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes." Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed Oroetes forthwith. Thus was Oroetes the Persian overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates of Samos.

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the

κήδεος την τέχνην άγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ: δ δὲ άγειν μιν την ταχίστην παρ' έωυτον ἐκέλευσε· τὸν δὲ ώς ἐξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι 'Οροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας

τε έλκοντα και ράκεσι έσθημένον.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρείος την τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, άροωδέων μη έωυτον ἐκφήνας το παράπαν της Έλλάδος ή ἀπεστερημένος κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ές το μέσον. ο δε ένθαῦτα δη ων εκφαίνει, φας ατρεκέως μεν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, όμιλήσας δε ίητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ύπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν εποίεε καλ έν χρόνω ολίγω ύγιέα μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι έλπίζοντα άρτίπουν έσεσθαι. δωρέεται δή μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι δ δέ μιν ἐπείρετο εἴ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν έπίτηδες νέμει, ότι μιν ύγιέα ἐποίησε. ήσθεὶς δὲ τῶ ἔπεϊ ὁ Δαρείος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς έωυτοῦ γυναϊκας παράγοντες δε οι εὐνοῦχοι έλεγον πρός τὰς γυναίκας ώς βασιλέι ούτος είη ός την ψυχην ἀπέδωκε. ύποτύπτουσα δε αὐτέων έκάστη φιάλη του χρυσου ες θήκην εδωρέετο Δημοκήδεα ούτω δή τι δαψιλέι δωρεή ώς τους άποπίπτουτας άπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας ἐπόμενος ο οἰκέτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καί οι χρήμα πολλόν τι χρυσού συνελέχθη.

BOOK III. 129-130

king of him. Darius bade Democedes be brought to him without delay. Finding the physician somewhere all unregarded and forgotten among Oroetes' slaves, they brought him into view, dragging his chains and

clad in rags.

130. When he came before the king, Darius asked him if he had knowledge of his art. Democedes denied it, for he feared that by revealing the truth about himself he would wholly be cut off from Hellas. Darius saw clearly that he was using craft to hide his knowledge,1 and bade those who led him to bring out scourges and goads for him. Then Democedes confessed, in so far as to say that his knowledge was not exact: but he had consorted (he said) with a physician and thereby gained some poor acquaintance with the art. Darius then entrusting the matter to him, Democedes applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of the Egyptians' violence; whereby he made the king able to sleep and in a little while recovered him of his hurt, though Darius had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot. After this, Darius rewarded him with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. "Is it then your purpose," Democedes asked, "to double my pains for my making you whole?" Darius, pleased by his wit, sent him to the king's wives. The eunuchs brought him to the women, saying, "This is he who saved the king'an life"; whereupon each of them took a vessel and, scooping with it from a chest full of gold, so richly rewarded the physician that the servant, whose name was Sciton, collected a very great sum of gold by following and gleaning the staters that fell from the vessels.

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¹ Or, that he knew how to practise his art?

131. Ο δε Δημοκήδης ούτος ώδε έκ Κρότωνος άπιγμένος Πολυκράτει ωμίλησε πατρί συνείχετο έν τη Κρότωνι όργην χαλεπώ· τοῦτον ἐπείτε οὐκ έδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπών οἴχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν. καταστάς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτω ἔτεϊ ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἰητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἐων καὶ έχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλήια. καί μιν δευτέρω έτει ταλάντου Λίγινηται δημοσίη μισθούνται, τρίτω δὲ ἔτεϊ Αθηναίοι έκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτω δὲ έτει Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων. ούτω μεν ἀπίκετο ές την Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ήκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιήται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα είναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναίοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Αργεῖοι ήκουον μουσικὴν είναι Έλλήνων πρώτοι.1

132. Τότε δη ό Δημοκήδης εν τοισι Σούσοισι εξιησάμενος Δαρείον οἶκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ όμοτράπεζος βασιλέι έγεγόνεε, πλήν τε ένὸς τοῦ ε΄ς Έλληνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τἆλλά οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἰητρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ "Ελληνος ἰητροῦ ἐσσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο τοὺς βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο τὰν μάντιν Ἡλείον Πολυκράτεϊ ἐπισπόμενον καὶ απημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι ἐρρύσατο. ἢν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέι.

133. Έν χρόνω δὲ ολίγω μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε

¹ Stein suspects from εγένετο γὰρ to πρῶτοι, but for no very cogent reason; though the mention of the Argive musicians is certainly irrelevant.

BOOK III. 131-133

131. Now this is how Democedes had come from Croton to live with Polycrates: he was troubled with a harsh-tempered father at Croton, whom being unable to bear, he left him and went to Aegina. Settled there, before a year was out, he excelled all the other physicians, although he had no equipment nor any of the implements of his calling. In his second year the Aeginetans 1 paid him a talent to be their public physician; in the next the Athenians hired him for an hundred minae, and Polycrates in the next again for two talents. Thus he came to Samos; and the fame of the Crotoniat physicians was chiefly owing to him; for at this time the best physicians in Greek countries were those of Croton, and next to them those of Cyrene. About the same time the Argives had the name of being the best musicians.

132. So now for having healed Darius at Susa Democedes had a very great house and ate at the king's table; all was his, except only permission to return to his Greek home. When the Egyptian chirurgeons who had till now attended on the king were about to be impaled for being less skilful than a Greek, Democedes begged their lives of the king and saved them; and he saved besides an Elean diviner, who had been of Polycrates' retinue and was left neglected among the slaves. Mightily in favour with the king was Democedes.

133. Not long after this, Atossa, Cyrus' daughter

¹ The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).

ἄλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. 'Λτόσση τῆ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἢν ἔλασσον, ἡ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκήδεα καί οἱ ἐπέδεξε. δ δὲ φὰς ὑγιέα ποιήσειν ἐξορκοῦ μιν ἡ μέν οἱ ἀντυπουργήσειν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῆ δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ

φέροντα.

134. ΄Ως δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκήδεος ή "Ατοσσα προσέφερε έν τῆ κοίτη Δαρείω λόγον τοιόνδε. "ΤΩ βασιλεῦ, έχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτησαι, ούτε τι έθνος προσκτώμενος ούτε δύναμιν Πέρσησι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαί τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' άνδρος άρχονται. ἐπ' άμφότερα δέ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωνται άνδρα είναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμω μηδε σχολήν άγοντες επιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἔως νέος εἶς ήλικίην· αὐξομένω γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ές τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." ἡ μὲν δη ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. " Ω γύναι, πάντα όσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν εἴρηκας· έγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἤπειρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου έσται τελεύμενα." λέγει "Ατοσσα τάδε. ""Ορα

and Darius' wife, found a swelling growing on her breast, which broke and spread further. As long as it was but a small matter, she said nothing of it but hid it for shame; but presently growing worse, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He promised to cure her, but made her to swear that she would requite him by granting whatsoever he requested of her; saying, that he would ask nothing shameful.

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the

νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἔασονουτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν σὰ βούλη, ἔσονταί τοι σὰ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγω πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ ᾿Αργείας καὶ ᾿Αττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὅς σευ τὸν πόδα ἐξιήσατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρείος " μέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτω τῷ σὰ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οῖ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαγγελέουσι ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπὰ αὐτοὺς

τρέψομαι."

135. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἄμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον έποίεε. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων άνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ένετέλλετό σφι έπομέιους Δημοκήδει διεξελθείν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅκως τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφέας ο Δημοκήδης, άλλά μιν πάντως οπίσω απάξουσι. έντειλάμενος δε τούτοισι ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκήδεα έδέετο αὐτοῦ ὄκως έξηγησάμενος πάσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας την Έλλάδα τοίσι Πέρσησι οπίσω ήξει δώρα δέ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οί πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα ολκάδα οι έφη συμβαλέεσθαι πλήσας άγαθων παντοίων, την άμα οι πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρείος μέν δή, δοκέειν έμοί, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγ-γέλλετό οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκήδης δὲ δείσας μή εὐ

BOOK III. 134-135

Scythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." "Lady," answered Darius, "since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas."

135. So said Darius, and it was no sooner said than done. For the next day at dawn he called to him fifteen notable Persians, and bade them go with Democedes and pass along the seaboard of Hellas; charging them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not suffer him to escape. Having thus charged them he next sent for Democedes himself, and required of him that when he had shown and made clear all Hellas to the Persians, he should come back; "And take," said he, "all your movable goods to give your father and your brethren; I will give you many times as much in return; and I will send to sail with you a ship of burden with a cargo of all things desirable." Darius, I think, made this promise in all honesty. But Democedes feared lest the king should

ἐκπειρῷτο Δαρείος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὁλκάδα, τήν οἱ Δαρείος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταὐτὰ ὁ Δαρείος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136. Καταβάντες δὲ οὖτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ές Σιδώνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἄμα δὲ αὐτῆσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων άγαθών παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα έπλεον ές την Έλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτης τὰ παραθαλάσσια έθηεῦντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ές δ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκουτο τής Ίταλίης ές Τάραντα. ένθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ρηστώνης τῆς Δημοκήδεος 'Αριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε των Μηδικέων νεών, τούτο δὲ αὐτούς τούς Πέρσας είρξε ώς κατασκόπους δήθεν έόντας. έν ὧ δὲ οὖτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκήδης ἐς την Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται ἀπιγμένου δὲ ήδη τούτου ές την έωυτοῦ ὁ Αριστοφιλίδης έλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκέ σφι.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκήδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἄπτοντο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δε Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προϊέναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. " "Ανδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιέετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος

BOOK III. 135-137

be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Democedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

136. They came down to the city of Sidon in Phoenice, and there chartered two triremes, as well as a great galleon laden with all things desirable; and when all was ready they set sail for Hellas, where they surveyed and described the coasts to which they came; until having viewed the greater and most famous parts they reached Taras in Italy. There Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, willing to do Democedes a kindness, took off the steering gear from the Median ships, and put the Persians under a guard, calling them spies. While they were in this plight Democedes made his way to Croton; nor did Aristophilides set the Persians free and restore to them what he had taken from their ships, till the physician was by now in his own country.

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him buying in the town and were for seizing him. Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king's men and beat them with their staves. "Nay," said the Persians, "look well, men of Croton, what you

δρηπέτην γενόμενον έξαιρέεσθε. κῶς ταῦτα βασιλέι Δαρείω ἐκχρήσει περιυβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ύμιν τὰ ποιεύμενα έξει καλώς, ην ἀπέλησθε ήμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;" ταθτα λέγοντες τους Κροτωνιήτας ούκων έπειθον, άλλ' έξαιρεθέντες τε τον Δημοκήδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἄμα ἥγοντο ἀπαιρε-θέντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην, οὐδ᾽ ἔτι έζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Έλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι έκμαθεῖι, ἐστερήμενοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τοσόνδε μέντοι ένετείλατό σφι Δημοκήδης άναγομένοισι, κελεύων είπειν σφεας Δαρείω ότι άρμοσται την Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκήδης γυναίκα. τοῦ γάρ ξή παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ήν οὔνομα πολλον παρά βασιλέι κατά δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκήδης, ίνα φανή προς Δαρείου έων καὶ έν τή έωυτοῦ δόκιμος.

138. 'Αναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην, καί σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ρυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. δ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος ῆν διδόναι τοῦτο ὅ τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορήν ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξη τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν δι' αὐτον στόλος μέγας πλέη ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κνιδίους μούνους ἀποχρῶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῦσι Ταραντίνοισι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλες.

BOOK III. 137-138

do; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the great king; think you that King Darius will rest content under this insolence? Think you that the deed will profit you if you drive us forth? Your city will then be the first that we will attack and essay to enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia, making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honour; and, to my thinking, the reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a man of estimation in his own country as well as Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and they themselves made slaves in the country, until one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and restored them to Darius. In return for this the king offered Gillus any reward that he might desire; Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked above all to be restored to Taras; but, not willing that a great armament should for his cause sail to Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas, it was enough, he said, that the Cnidians alone should be his escort; for he supposed that thus the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back, the Cnidians being their friends. Darius kept his word,

πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείω Κνίδιοι Ταραντίνους οὔκων ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη οὖτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὖτοι διὰ τοιόνδε

πρηγμα κατάσκοποι έγένοντο.

139. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αίρέει, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ελληνίδων καί βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοί ες την Αίγυπτον απίκοντο Ελλήνων, οί μέν, ώς οἰκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οὶ δὲ τινές καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρης θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις τοιήδε. λαβών χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρην ηγόραζε έν τη Μέμφι. ίδων δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρείος, δορυφόρος τε ἐων Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε της χλανίδος και αὐτην προσελθών ώνέετο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὁρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείη τύχη χρεώμενος λέγει '''Εγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ άλλως, εἴ περ ούτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι." αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. 'Ο μεν δη Συλοσων ηπίστατο τουτό οι ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ώς δε του χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οι ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ Δαρείος την βασιληίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ώς ἡ βασιληίη περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, bidding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

139. After this, Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or other, the reason of his conquest being this: -When Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks came with the army to that country, some to trade, as was natural, and some to see the country itself; among whom was Syloson, son of Aeaces, Polycrates' brother, and now banished from Samos. This Syloson had a stroke of good luck. He was in the market at Memphis wearing a red cloak, when Darius, at that time one of Cambyses' guard and as yet a man of no great account, saw him, and coveting the cloak came and offered to buy it. When Syloson saw Darius' eagerness, by good luck he was moved to say, "I will not sell you my cloak; but if it must be so, and no help for it, you can have it for nothing." To this Darius agreed and took the garment.

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was

κοτε αὐτὸς έδωκε ἐν Λίγύπτω δεηθέντι τὸ είμα. άναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα ίζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουρὸς τῷ βασιλέι: δ δε θωμάσας λέγει προς αὐτόν "Καὶ τίς έστὶ Έλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι, νεωστὶ μεν την άρχην έχων, αναβέβηκε δ' ή τις ή οὐδείς κω παρ' ήμέας αὐτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνδρὸς Έλληνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." παρήγε ὁ πυλουρὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτων οἱ έρμηνέες τίς τε εἴη καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησί εἶναι βασιλέος. εἶπε ὧν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ώς αὐτὸς είη κείνος ὁ δούς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος " Ω γενναιότατε ανδρών, σὺ κείνος είς δς έμοι ούδεμίαν έχοντί κω δύναμιν έδωκας εί και σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὧν ἴση γε ή χάρις όμοίως ώς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι ἀντ' ὧν τοι χρυσον καὶ άργυρον άπλετον δίδωμι, ώς μή κοτέ τοι μεταμελήση Δαρεῖον τὸν 'Υστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν '' Εμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν ὧ βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασωσά-μενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Όροίτεω έχει δοῦλος ήμέτερος ταύτην μοι δὸς άνευ τε φόνου καὶ έξανδραποδίσιος."

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρείος ἀπέστελλε στρατίην τε καὶ στρατηγον 'Οτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτά οἱ ποιέειν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν

θά\ασσαν ὁ 'Οτάνης ἔστελλε τὴν στρατιήν.

BOOK III. 140-141

the man to whom he had given at request the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat at the king's porch, saving that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the gate-ward brought word of this to the king, "But to what Greek benefactor," Darius asked, "can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, so to say, no need of any Greek. Nevertheless let him be brought in, that I may know his meaning." The gate-ward brought Syloson in and set him before them; and the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "you are he who made me a present when I had as yet no power; if it was but a little thing, yet it was as thankworthy as if someone now gave me a great gift. Take in requital abundance of gold and silver, that you may never repent of the service you did Darius son of Hystaspes." "Nay," Syloson answered, "I ask neither gold, O king, nor silver; only win me back my fatherland of Samos, where my brother Polycrates has been done to death by Oroetes, and our slave now rules; give me back Samos, but so that there be no bloodshed nor enslaving."

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.

142. Της δε Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ο Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβων την άρχην τω δικαιοτάτω άνδρων βουλομένω γενέσθαι οὐκ έξεγένετο. ἐπειδη γάρ οί έξαγγέλθη ο Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, εποίεε τοιάδε πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ίδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περί αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείω έστί μετα δέ, ώς οι έπεποίητο, έκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων των άστων έλεξε τάδε. " Εμοί, ώς ίστε καὶ ύμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πασα ή Πολυκράτεος έπιτέτραπται, καί μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπι-πλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ήρεσκε δεσπόζων ανδρών όμοίων έωυτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιέει. Πολυκράτης μέν νυν έξέπλησε μοιραν την έωυτου, έγω δε ες μέσον την άρχην τιθείς ίσονομίην ύμιν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαιῶ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μέν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων έξαίρετα έξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ίρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι αίρεθμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ' έμεθ αιεί γινομένοισι τοθ Διός τοθ έλευθερίου τῷ αὐτός τε ίρὸν ίδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημι." ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοισι έπαγγέλλετο· των δέ τις έξαναστὰς εἶπε "'Αλλ' οὐδ' ἄξιος εἶς σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακώς καὶ ἐων ὅλεθρος ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων."

143. Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐων ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβων ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀνταυτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νόῳ

BOOK III. 142-143

142. Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, whom Polycrates had made his vicegerent. This Maeandrius desired to act with all justice, but could not. For when he had news of Polycrates' death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out round it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this was done, he called an assembly of all the townsfolk, and thus addressed them: "It is known to you that I have sole charge of Polycrates' sceptre and dominion; and it is in my power to be your ruler. But, so far as in me lies, I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbour. I ever misliked that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like to himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny; for myself, I call you to share all power, and I proclaim equality; only claiming as my own such privilege that six talents of Polycrates' wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants have besides the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and I now give you freedom." Such was . Maeandrius' promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: "Nay, but who are you? You are not worthy to reign over us, being a low-born knave and rascal. See to it rather that you give an account of the moneys that you have handled."

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Maeandrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved

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εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῆ Σάμω πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας οὐ γὰρ δή, ὡς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Έπειδη ων ἀπίκοντο ἐς την Σάμον οἰ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσωντα, οὐτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἔτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι 'Οτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι

κατεναντίου της άκροπόλιος κατέατο.

145. Μαιανδρίφ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἢν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Χαρίλεως · οὖτος ὅ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησσόμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίφ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσησι, λέγων τοιάδε. "Ἐμὲ μέν, ὡ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐόντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἢξίωσας · ὁρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τὲ σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δή τι ἐόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι.

BOOK III. 143-145

not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Macandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

144. So when the Persians brought Syloson back to Samos, none resisted them, but Maeandrius and those of his faction offered to depart from the island under a flag of truce; Otanes agreed to this, and the treaty being made, the Persians of highest rank sat them down on seats that they had set over

against the citadel.

145. Now Maeandrius the despot had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offence; this man heard what was afoot, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he desired to have speech with Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, bade Charilaus be loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he essayed with much reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Villain," he cried, "you have bound and imprisoned me, your own brother, who had done nothing to deserve it; and when you see the Persians casting you out of house and home, have you no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily master them? If you are yourself

άλλ' εἴ τοι σὺ σφέας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καί σφεας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου

ετοιμος είμί."

146. Ταῦτα δὲ έλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ώς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ώς δόξαι τὴν έωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέος, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μάλλον Συλοσώντι εί απονητί έμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον την πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ων τους Πέρσας ήθελε ως ασθενέστατα ποιήσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ ούτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ έξεπιστάμενος ώς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακώς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι έμελλον τοίσι Σαμίοισι, είδώς τε έωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ της νήσου τότε έπεαν αύτος βούληται έπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτη διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μεν δη ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὁπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, έξηκε έπὶ τους Πέρσας ούτε προσδεκομένους τοιούτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δη πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τούς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου έόντας έκτεινον. καὶ οὖτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίευν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθεε πιεζεύμενοι δε οι επίκουροι οπίσω κατειλήθησαν ες την ακρόπολιν.

147. 'Οτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπουθότας, ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρεῖός οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν

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BOOK III. 145-147

afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for their coming hither; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

146. So said Charilaus. Maeandrius took his advice. This he did, to my thinking, not that he was so foolish as to suppose that he would be strong enough to vanquish the king, but because he grudged that Syloson should recover Samos safe and whole with no trouble. He desired therefore to anger the Persians and thereby to weaken Samos as much as he might before surrendering it, for he was well aware that if the Persians were harmed they would be bitterly wroth with the Samians. Moreover he knew that he could get himself safe out of the island whenever he would, having made a secret passage leading from the citadel to the sea. Maeandrius then set sail himself from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the guards, opened the citadel gates, and threw the guard upon the Persians. These supposed that a full agreement had now been made, and were taken at unawares; the guard fell upon them and slew the Persians of highest rank, those who were carried in litters. At this the rest of the Persian force came up and pressed the guards hard, driving them into the citadel.

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian

ἀποδοθυαι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν εντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, δ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῆ στρατιῆ πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παίδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαθτα τῆς στρατιῆς οῦ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οῦ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἔν τε ἱρῷ καὶ

έξω ίροῦ.

148. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου έκπλέει ές Λακεδαίμονα άπικόμενος δε ές αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· όκως ποτήρια άργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεα προθείτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων)αὐτά, ο δ' αν τον χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ 'Αναξανδρίδεω έν λόγοισι έών, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προήγε μιν ες τὰ οἰκία ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο ὁ δὲ αν εκέλευε αὐτον ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτων ὅσα βούλοιτο. τοῦτο καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς εἴπαντος Μαιανδρίου ό Κλεομένης δικαιότατος άνδρων γίνεται, ος λαβείν μεν διδόμενα ούκ έδικαίου, μαθών δε ώς άλλοισι διδούς τών αστών ευρήσεται τιμωρίην, βάς έπὶ τους εφόρους άμεινον είναι έφη τη Σπάρτη τον ξείνον τον Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ίνα μη ἀναπείση η αὐτον η ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακον γενέσθαι. οι δ' ὑπακού-σαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον.

149. Την δε Σάμον [σαγηνεύσαντες] οι Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσώντι έρημον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρών.

¹ This word may be an interpolation; the process (forming a long line to sweep all before it) is described in detail in Bk. VI. 31, as if that were the first mention of it. Moreover, it is inconsistent here with ch. 147.

BOOK III. 147-149

but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the citadel, the rest slew all they met, whether in temples or without.

148. Maeandrius, escaping from Samos, sailed to Lacedaemon; and when he had come thither and brought the possessions with which he had left his country, it was his custom to make a display of silver and gold drinking cups; while his servants were cleaning these, he would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him to his house. Cleomenes, whenever he saw the cups, marvelling greatly at them, Maeandrius would bid him take away as many of them as he wished. Maeandrius made this offer two or three times; Cleomenes herein showed his great honesty, that he would not accept it; but, perceiving that there were others in Lacedaemon from whom Maeandrius would get help by offering them the cups, he went to the ephors and told them it were best for Sparta that this Samian stranger should quit the country, lest he should persuade Cleomenes himself or some other Spartan to do evil. The ephors listened to his counsel and banished Maeandrius by proclamation.

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But

ύστέρω μέντοι χρόνω καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὁτάνης ἔκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου

ή μιν κατέλαβε νοσήσαι τα αίδοία.

150. Έπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν ὅσφ γὰρ ὅ τε Μάγος ἢρχε καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτφ παντὶ τῷ χρόνφ καὶ τῷ ταραχῷ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. καί κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδεντὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαιρέετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαιρέετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μή σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.

151. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκες φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. "Τί κάτησθε ὧ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι." τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον

τεκείν.

152. Έπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη ὁ Δαρεῖός τε ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιἡ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατἡ ἐοῦσα έλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς

BOOK III. 149-152

afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, gave his aid to settle the land, being moved thereto by a dream, and a sickness which attacked his secret

parts.

150. When the fleet had gone to Samos, the Babylonians revolted; I for which they had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the Magian, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the disorders to prepare themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this was unknown. At the last they revolted openly and did this:—sending away all the mothers, they chose each one woman from his own household, whom he would, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them, that they should not consume their bread.

151. When Darius heard of this he mustered all his power and led it against Babylon, and he marched to the town and laid siege to it; but the townsmen cared nothing for what he did. They came up on to the bastions of the wall, and mocked Darius and his army with gesture and word; and this saying came from one of them: "Why sit you there, Persians, instead of departing? You will take our city when mules bear offspring." This said the Babylonian, supposing that no mule would ever bear

offspring.

152. A year and seven months passed and Darius and all his army were vexed by ever failing to take Babylon. Yet Darius had used every trick and

According to the course of Herodotus' narrative, this revolt would seem to have taken place some considerable time after Darius' accession (521 B.C.). But the Behistun inscription apparently makes it one of the earliest events of his reign.

έπεποιήκεε ές αὐτους Δαρείος άλλ' οὐδ' ως έδύνατο έλειν σφεας, άλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δη καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἶλε σφέας, καὶ τούτω έπειρήθη. άλλα γαρ δεινώς ήσαν έν φυλακήσι οί

Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἶός τε ην έλεῖν.

153. Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρφ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου δς των έπτα ανδρων έγένετο των τον Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτω τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδί Ζωπύρω έγένετο τέρας τόδε των οί σιτοφόρων ήμιονων μία έτεκε. ώς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ύπο άπιστίης αὐτος ο Ζώπυρος εἶδε το βρέφος, άπείπας τοΐσι ίδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. καί οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ρήματα, δς κατ' άρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τείχος άλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην την φήμην Ζωπύρω έδόκεε είναι άλώσιμος ή Βαβυλών συν γαρ θεώ ἐκείνον τε εἰπείν καὶ έωυτώ

τεκείν την ημίονον.

154. 'Ως δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῆ Βαβυλώνι άλίσκεσθαι, προσελθών Δαρείου άπεπυνθάνετο εί περί πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται την Βαβυλώνα έλειν. πυθόμενος δέ ώς πολλοῦ τιμώτο, άλλο έβουλεύετο, όκως αὐτός τε έσται ὁ έλων αὐτὴν καὶ έωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται κάρτα γὰρ ἔν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμώνται. ἄλλφ μέν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργφ δυνατός είναί μιν ύποχειρίην ποιήσαι, εί δ' έωυτον λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ές αὐτούς. ένθαῦτα έν έλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος έωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνήκεστον ἀποταμών γὰρ έωυτοῦ τὴν ρίνα καὶ τὰ ὧτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ήλθε παρά Δαρείον.

BOOK III. 152-154

every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

153. But in the twentieth month of the siege a miraculous thing befell Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus who was one of the seven destroyers of the Magian: one of his food-carrying mules bore offspring. Zopyrus would not believe the news; but when he saw the foal for himself, he bade those who had seen it to tell no one; then taking counsel he bethought him of the Babylonian's word at the beginning of the siege—that the city would be taken when mules bore offspring—and having this utterance in mind he conceived that Babylon might be taken; for the hand of heaven, he supposed, was in the man's word and the birth from his own mule.

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so he next looked about for a plan whereby the city's fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius,

155. Δαρείος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου άναπηδήσας άνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἴρετό μιν όστις είη ο λωβησάμενος καὶ ό τι ποιήσαντα. δ δὲ εἶπε " Οὐκ ἔστι οὖτος ώνήρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη έμε δη ώδε διαθείναι οὐδέ τις άλλοτρίων ὧ βασιλεῦ τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν, δεινόν τι ποιεύμενος ᾿Ασσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν.'' δ δ' ἀμείβετο ''˚Ω σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργφ τῷ αἰσχίστφ οὔνομα τὸ κάλλιστον έθευ, φας δια τούς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτον άνηκέστως διαθείναι. τί δ', ὧ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κώς οὐκ έξέπλωσας τῶν φρενών σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας;" δ δὲ εἶπε "Εἰ μέν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ έμελλον ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἄν με περιείδες νῦν δ' ἐπ' έμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ήδη ὧν ἡν μη τῶν σων δεήση, αίρέομεν Βαβυλώνα. έγω μεν γάρ ώς έχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα έχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιης. σύ δέ, ἀπ' ής αν ημέρης έγω ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τείχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ώρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμι-ράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὖτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ές έβδόμην άλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατά τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς έβδόμης διαλείπειν είκοσι ήμέρας, καὶ έπειτα άλλους κάτισον άγαγών κατά τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. εχόντων δε μήτε οι πρότεροι μηδεν των άμυνεύντων μήτε

155. The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "Hardhearted man; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, yet four thousand again before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any weapons of war

οὖτοι, πλην ἐγχειριδίων τοῦτο δὲ ἐᾶν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δέ μοι τάξον κατά τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοί

τε καὶ Πέρσησι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιέειν."

156. Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἤιε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὁρωντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἰη καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἤκοι. ὁ δέ σφι ἢγόρενε ὡς εἰη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἢγον δή μιν οἱ πυλουροί, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλεῦσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπείτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς άλώσιος. "Νῦν τε" ἔφη λέγων "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὡ Βαβυλώνιοι ἤκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρείφ δὲ καὶ τῆ στρατιῆ καὶ Πέρσησι μέγιστον κακόν οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὡδε λωβησάμενος καταπροίξεται ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξοδους τῶν βουλευμάτων." τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

157. Οὶ δὲ Βάβυλώνιοι ὁρῶντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσησι δοκιμώτατον ρινός τε καὶ ὅτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καί σφι ἤκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν

save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits that the Babylonians will give into my charge the keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to do what is needful."

156. With this charge, he went towards the city gate, turning and looking back as though he were in truth a deserter. When the watchers posted on the towers saw him, they ran down, and opening half the gate a little asked him who he was and for what purpose he was come; he told them that he was Zopyrus, come to them as a deserter. Hearing this the gate-wardens brought him before the general assembly of the Babylonians, where he bade them see his lamentable plight, saying of his own work that it was Darius' doing, because that he had advised the king to lead his army away, seeing that they could find no way to take the city. "Now," said he in his speech to them, "I am come greatly to aid you, men of Babylon, and greatly to harm Darius and his army and the Persians; not unpunished shall he go for the outrage he has wrought upon me; and I know all the plan and order of his counsels." Thus he spoke.

157. When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he

έδέετο σφέων έδέετο δὲ στρατιής. δ δὲ ἐπειτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τά περ τῷ Δαρείω συνεθήκατο έξαγαγων γάρ τη δεκάτη ήμέρη την στρατιήν των Βαβυλωνίων και κυκλωσάμενος τούς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείφ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δέ μιν οί Βαβυλώνιοι τοίσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον όμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρέες ἐόντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ήσαν ύπηρετέειν. δ δε διαλιπών ήμέρας τας συγκειμένας, αὖτις ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων έξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τους δισγιλίους. ιδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ έργον οί Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον είχον έν στόμασι αινέοντες. ὁ δὲ αῦτις διαλιπών τὰς συγκειμένας ήμέρας έξήγαγε ές τὸ προειρημένου, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ώς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ην έν τοίσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὖτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολην δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τάς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οὶ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, οὖτοι μὲν ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἰρόν οὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῆ ἑωυτοῦ τάξι ἔκαστος, ἐς ὁ δὴ καὶ οὖτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

159. Βαβυλων μέν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων,

BOOK III. 157-159

might have an army; and having received this from them he did according to his agreement with Darius. On the tenth day he led out the Babylonian army, and surrounded and put to the sword the thousand whom he had charged Darius to set first in the field. Seeing that his deeds answered his words, the Babylonians were overjoyed and ready to serve him in every way. When the agreed number of days was past, he led out again a chosen body of Babylonians, and slew the two thousand men of Darius' army. When the Babylonians saw this second feat of arms, the praise of Zopyrus was in every man's mouth. The agreed number of days being again past, he led out his men to the place he had named, where he surrounded the four thousand and put them to the sword. After this his third exploit, Zopyrus was the one man for Babylon: he was made the captain of their armies and the warden of their walls.

158. So when Darius assaulted the whole circuit of the wall, according to the agreed plan, then Zopyrus' treason was fully revealed. For while the townsmen were on the wall defending it against Darius' assault, he opened the gates called Cissian and Belian, and let in the Persians within the walls. Those Babylonians who saw what he did fled to the temple of that Zeus whom they call Belus; those who had not seen it abode each in his place, till they too perceived how they had been betrayed.

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed

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τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιείλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἐλῶν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὡς δ' ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γενεὴ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προϊδῶν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἑωυτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἑκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

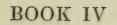
160. Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ύπερεβάλετο παρά Δαρείω κριτή οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ούτε των πρότερον, ότι μη Κύρος μούνος τούτω γαρ οὐδείς Περσέων ήξίωσε κω έωυτον συμβαλείν. πολλάκις δε Δαρείον λέγεται γυώμηυ τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ώς βούλοιτο αν Ζώπυρον είναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἡ Βαβυλωνάς οι είκοσι προς τη ἐούση προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οί ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσησι ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά έπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, δς ἐν Αἰγύπτω ἀντία ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμ-μάχων ἐστρατήγησε Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, δς ές 'Αθήνας ηὐτομόλησε έκ Περσέων.

BOOK III. 159-160

their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not foully mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.





- 1. Μετά δὲ τὴν Βαβυλώνος αίρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς 'Ασίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι έκείνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχη τους άντιουμένους υπηρξαν άδικίης. της γαρ άνω 'Ασίης ήρξαν, ώς καὶ πρότερόν μοι είρηται, Σκύθαι έτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γαρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ές την 'Ασίην, καταπαύσαντες της άρχης Μήδους. ούτοι γάρ πρίν ή Σκύθας άπικέσθαι ήρχον τής 'Ασίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ές την σφετέρην έξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὖρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιην ούκ ολίγην. αι γαρ των Σκυθέων γυναίκες, ώς σφι οί ἄνδρες ἀπήσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρά τούς δούλους.
- 2. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἴνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε. 198

BOOK IV

- 1. After the taking of Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For seeing that Asia abounded in men and that he gathered from it a great revenue, he became desirous of punishing the Scythians for the unprovoked wrong they had done him when they invaded Asia and defeated those who encountered them. For the Scythians, as I have before shown, ruled the upper country of Asia 1 for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and made an end of the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the coming of the Scythians. But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for eight and twenty years and returned to their country after so long a time, there awaited them another task as hard as their Median war. They found themselves encountered by a great host; for their husbands being now long away, the Scythian women consorted with their slaves.
- 2. Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, by reason of the milk 2 whereof they drink; and this is

That is, the eastern highlands of the Persian empire.
 Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent

² Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent them stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.

ἐπεὰν φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὀστείνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε είνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ περιστίξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τὸ δὶ ὑπιστάμενον ἡσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἄπαντα τὸν ἃν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.

3. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἢντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσαν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὀρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῆ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη· μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῆ μάχη, εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "Οἰα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι· δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοί τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὧν

BOOK IV. 2-3

the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. By what they say, their reason for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they most value; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wandering graziers.

3. So it came about that a younger race grew up, born of these slaves and the women; and when the youths learnt of their lineage, they came out to do battle with the Scythians in their return from Media. First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench from the Tauric mountains to the broadest part of the Maeetian lake¹; and presently when the Scythians tried to force a passage they encamped over against them and met them in battle. Many fights there were, and the Scythians could gain no advantage thereby; at last one of them said, "Men of Scythia, see what we are about! We are fighting our own slaves; they slay us, and we grow fewer; we slay them, and thereafter shall have fewer slaves. Now therefore

¹ The Set of Azov. It is not clear where the τάφρος was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called "Putrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between the Arabat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of Azov.

μοι δοκέει αίχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετείναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἔκαστον τοῦ ἴππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσσον αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι."

4. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε ᾿Ασίης ῆρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὖτις ὑπὸ Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶνδε εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος

συνήγειρε έπ' αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

5. 'Ως δε Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων έθνέων είναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρώτον ἐν τῆ γῆ ταύτη ἐούση έρήμω τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τους τοκέας λέγουσι είναι, έμοι μέν οὐ πιστά λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὧν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος μέν τοιούτου δή τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παίδας τρείς, Λιπόξαϊν καὶ Αρπόξαϊν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαϊν. ἐπὶ τούτων άρχόντων έκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιήματα, άροτρόν τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσείν ές την Σκυθικήν καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρώτον τον πρεσβύτατον ἇσσον ίέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι· ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὖτις ταὐτὰ ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τον χρυσον απώσασθαι, τρίτω δε τώ νεωmy counsel is that we drop our spears and bows, and go to meet them each with his horsewhip in hand. As long as they saw us armed, they thought themselves to be our peers and the sons of our peers; let them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not abide our attack."

4. This the Scythians heard, and acted thereon; and their enemies, amazed by what they saw, had no more thought of fighting, but fled. Thus the Scythians ruled Asia and were driven out again by the Medes, and by such means they won their return to their own land. Desiring to punish them for what they did, Darius mustered an army against them.

5. The Scythians say that their nation is the voungest in all the world, and that it came into being on this wise. There appeared in this country, being then desert, a man whose name was Targitaus. His parents, they say—for my part I do not believe the tale, but it is told—were Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes.1 Such (it is said) was Targitaus' lineage; and he had three sons, Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. In the time of their rule (so the story goes) there fell down from the sky into Scythia certain implements, all of gold, namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a The eldest of them, seeing this, came near with intent to take them; but the gold began to burn as he came, and he ceased from his essay; then the second approached, and the gold did again as before; when these two had been driven away by the burning of the gold, last came the youngest brother,

τάτω ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καί μι**ν ἐκεῖνον** κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας τὴν βασιληίην

πασαν παραδούναι τῷ νεωτάτω.

6. 'Απὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Λὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου 'Αρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροί τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέος οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὔνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπω-

νυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ "Ελληνες ἀνόμασαν.

7. Γεγονέναι μέν νυν σφέας ώδε λέγουσι οί Σκύθαι, έτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπείτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι είναι άπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος Ταργιτάου ές την Δαρείου διάβασιν την έπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσον τοῦτον τον ίρον φυλάσσουσι οί βασιλέες ές τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλησι ίλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται άνα παν έτος. δς δ' αν έχων τον χρυσον τον ίρον έν τη όρτη ύπαίθριος κατακοιμηθή, ούτος λέγεται ύπο Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαυτίζειν· δίδοσθαι δέ οί διὰ τοῦτο όσα ἂν ἵππω ἐν ήμέρη μιή περιελάση αὐτός. της δὲ χώρης ἐούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισί τοίσι έωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαϊν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιήσαι μεγίστην, έν τή τον χρυσον φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον των ύπεροίκων της χώρης οὐκ οἶά τε είναι έτι προσωτέρω ούτε όραν ούτε διεξιέναι ύπὸ πτερών κεχυμένων πτερών γάρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ άποκληίοντα την όψιν.

BOOK IV. 5-7

and the burning was quenched at his approach; so he took the gold to his own house. At this his elder brothers saw how matters stood, and made over

the whole royal power to the youngest.

6. Lipoxaïs, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxaïs, the second brother, of those called Katiari and Traspies; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; "Scythians" is a name given them by Greeks.

7. Such then is the Scythians' account of their origin; they reckon that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed between their first King Targitäus and the crossing over of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold most jealously, and every year offer to it solemn sacrifices of propitiation. Whoever at this festival sleeps in the open air, having with him the gold, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason 1 (they say) there is given him as much land as he can himself ride round in one day. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships established by Colaxaïs for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. Above and northward of the neighbours of their country none (they say) can see or travel further, by reason of showers of feathers2; for earth and sky are overspread by these, and it is this which hinders sight.

See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.

¹ The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.

8. Σκύθαι μεν ώδε ύπερ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ της χώρης της κατύπερθε λέγουσι, Έλληνων δε οί του Πουτου οικέουτες ώδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ήντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν έξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένου την Έλληνες λέγουσι Ερύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι έξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ωκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ 'Ωκεανὸν λόγω μεν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ήλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γην περί πασαν ρέειν, έργω δε οὐκ ἀποδεικνθσι. ένθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γαρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμόν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δέ οἱ ἵππους τὰς 1 ύπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτφ τῷ χρόνφ άφανισθηναι θείη τύχη.

9. 'Ως δ' ἐγερθηναι τὸν 'Ηρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ της χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς την 'Υλαίην καλεομένην γην ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄντρφ μιξοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, της τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιος. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἴ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας την δὲ φάναι ἐωυτην ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνφ πρὶν ἡ οἱ μιχθη τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθηναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτφ. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ώς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλέι, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν

8. Such is the Scythians' account of themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks is as follows. Heracles, driving the kine of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desert, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones dwelt westward of the Pontus, being settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of the Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for the Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows from the sun's rising round the whole world, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came thence to the country now called Scythia, where, meeting with wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, that were grazing yoked to the chariot, were marvellously spirited away.

9. When Heracles awoke he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, till at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half damsel and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had anywhere seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not restore them to him before he had intercourse with her; which Heracles did, in hope of this reward. But though he was fain to take the horses and depart, she delayed to restore them, that she might have Heracles with her for as long as might be; at last she gave them back, saying

¹ Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.

""Ιππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομίνας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ, σῶστρά τε σὺ παρέσχες ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτή) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ." τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτὰν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "Επεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδη τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν άμαρτάνοις τὸν μὲν ἂν ὁρᾳς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστῆρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦ δς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτή τε εὐφρανέαι

καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις."

10. Τον μεν δη ειρύσαντα των τόξων το έτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τον ζωστήρα έχουτα ἐπ' ἄκρης τής συμβολής φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. την δ', ἐπεί οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παίδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μέν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ᾿Αγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένω Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτω, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μέν οί τῶν παίδων, τόν τε 'Αγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οίους τε γενομένους έξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, οἴχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκβληθέντας ύπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμείναι ἐν τῆ χώρη. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τους αίεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων,

to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I lay upon him, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Scythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the

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ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μοῦνον μηχα-νήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη.¹ ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων

οί τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

11. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ώδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένω αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τούς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίη, πολέμω πιεσθέντας ύπο Μασσαγετέων, οίχεσθαι δια-Βάντας ποταμον 'Αράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιον είναι Κιμμερίων), τούς δε Κιμμερίους έπιοντων Σκυθέων βουλεύεσθαι ώς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου, και δη τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, έντόνους μεν άμφοτέρας, άμείνω δε την τῶν βασιλέων την μεν γάρ δη τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ώς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη μηδε πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι. οὔκων δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεύσι τὸν δημον οὔτε τῷ δήμω τοὺς βασιλέας τους μεν δη απαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι άμαχητι την χώρην παραδόντας τοίσι ἐπιοῦσι τοίσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῆ ἐωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ, λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας έκ της πατρίδος κακά ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν. ώς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ίσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι προς άλλήλους. και

¹ This is not intelligible to me. If $\tau \hat{\eta}$ μητέρι Σκύθην could be read, some sense might be obtained: Scythes, and he alone, contrived this (τόδε for τὸ δή, "this" being the προκειμένος ἄεθλος) for his mother.

BOOK IV. 10-11

vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their girdles to this day. This alone his mother contrived for Scythes. Such is the tale told by the Greek dwellers in Pontus.

11. There is yet another tale, to the tradition whereof I myself do especially incline. It is to this purport: The nomad Scythians inhabiting Asia, being hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled away across the river Araxes1 to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged of old to the Cimmerians), and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the Scythians, took such counsel as behoved men threatened by a great host. Their opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honourable; for the commonalty deemed that their business was to withdraw themselves and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. Neither side would be persuaded by the other, neither the people by the princes nor the princes by the people; the one part planned to depart without fighting and deliver the country to their enemies, but the princes were resolved to lie slain in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their state had been and what ills were like to come upon them if they fled from their native land. Being thus resolved they parted asunder into two equal bands and fought with each other till they

¹ Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; cp. i. 202. He appears to extend the Araxes, which flowed from the west into the Caspian, into regions east of that sea.

τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καί σφεων ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιέεσθαι· Σκύθας

δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἐρήμην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήια Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρη οὔνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῆ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῆ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οῦ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς όδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὖτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

13. "Εφη δὲ 'Αριστέης ὁ Καϋστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς 'Ισσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, 'Ισσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν 'Αριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς 'Υπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὧν πάντας πλὴν 'Υπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων 'Αριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν 'Αριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι

BOOK IV. 11-13

were all slain by their own hands; then the commonalty of the Cimmerians buried them by the river Tyres, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them departed out of the land; and the country being empty, the Seythians came and

took possession of it.

12. And to this day there are in Scythia Cimmerian walls, and a Cimmerian ferry, and there is a country Cimmeria and a strait named Cimmerian. Moreover, it is clearly seen that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia did also make a colony on the peninsula where now the Greek city of Sinope has been founded; and it is manifest that the Scythians pursued after them and invaded Media, missing their way; for the Cimmerians ever fled by the way of the coast, and the Scythians pursued with the Caucasus on their right till where they came into the Median land, turning inland on their way. I have now related this other tale, which is told alike by Greeks and foreigners.

13. There is also a story related by Aristeas son of Caÿstrobius, a man of Proconnesus and a poet. This Aristeas, being then possessed by Phoebus, visited the Issedones; beyond these (he said) dwell the one-eyed Arimaspians, beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. Except the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) ever make war upon their neighbours; the Issedones were pushed from their lands

elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.

¹ The name survives in "Crimea." The "Cimmerian ferry" is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov.

For some notice of geographical difficulties here and

έκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῆ νοτίη θαλάσση ὑπὸ Σκυθέων <u>πιεζομένους</u> ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. οὕτω οὐδὲ οῦτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς

χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἢν ᾿Αριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἴπας, εἴρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκον-νήσω καὶ Κυζίκω, λέξω. ᾿Αριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, έοντα των αστων ούδενος γένος ύποδεέστερον, έσελθόντα ες κναφήιον εν Προκοννήσω αποθανείν, καί τον κναφέα κατακληίσαντα το έργαστήριον οίχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ώς τεθνεως είη ο 'Αριστέης, ές αμφισβασίας τοίσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ήκοντα έξ Αρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχείν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ές λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν έντεταμένως άμφισβατέειν, τούς δὲ προσήκοντας τῶ νεκρῶ ἐπὶ τὸ κυαφήιον παρείναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ώς αναιρησομένους ανοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οίκήματος ούτε τεθνεώτα ούτε ζώντα φαίνεσθαι Αριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμω ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ές Προκόννησον ποιήσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ύπ' Έλλήνων 'Αριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ άφανισθηναι το δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλιες αὖται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίη συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην ᾿Αριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσω τε καὶ Μεταποντίω εὕρισκον. Μεταποντίνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν ᾿Αριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεῦσαι βωμὸν ᾿Απόλ-

by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

14. Whence Aristeas came who wrote this I have already said; I will now tell the story which I heard concerning him at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said that this Aristeas, who was as nobly born as any of his townsmen, went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the fuller shut his workshop and went away to tell the dead man's kinsfolk, and the report of Aristeas' death being now spread about in the city, it was disputed by a man of Cyzicus. who had come from the town of Artace,1 and said that he had met Aristeas going towards Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he vehemently disputed, the kinsfolk of the dead man had come to the fuller's shop with all that was needful for burial; but when the house was opened there was no Aristeas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and made that poem which the Greeks now call the Arimaspea, after which he vanished once again.

15. Such is the tale told in these two towns. But this, I know, befell the Metapontines in Italy, two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as reckoning made at Proconnesus and Metapontium shows me: Aristeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and bade them set up an altar to Apollo, and set

¹ A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.

λωνος ίδρύσασθαι καὶ 'Αριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἱστάναι· φάναι γάρ σφι τὸν 'Απόλλωνα 'Ιταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτός οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐων 'Αριστέης· τότε δέ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὅ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων 'Αριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἑστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῆ ἀγορῆ ἵδρυται. 'Αριστέω μέν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

16. Της δὲ γης, της πέρι ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὅρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκέως ὅ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστί· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ᾿Αριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὖτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῆ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῆ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν

ειρήσεται.

17. 'Απὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Έλληνες Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ 'Αλαζόνες καλέονται. οὖτοι δὲ καὶ

beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself-who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow-had come with Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of laurels surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

16. As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies northward of it; for I can learn from none who claims to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristeas, of whom I lately made mention—even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, no, not even in his poems; but he spoke of what lay northward by hearsay; saying that the Issedones had so told him. But as far as we have been able to hear an exact report of the farthest lands, all shall be set forth.

17. Northward of the port of the Borysthenites, which lies midway in the coastline of all Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other

¹ Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.

οί Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταὐτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ ᾿Αλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πρήσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώ-

πων, όσον ήμεις ίδμεν.

18. Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμόν ἐστι ἔθνεα πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος ἀτὰρ δια-βάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἐλληνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενείτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὁλβιοπολίτας. οὖτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα κείται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἡμερέων ἕνδεκα. ἤδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ᾿Ανδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὸν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἤδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

19. Το δε προς την ηω των γεωργων τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τον Παντικάπην ποταμόν, νομάδες ηδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, ούτε τι σπείροντες ούδεν ούτε ἀροῦντες ψιλη δε δενδρέων ή πασα αύτη πλην της Υλαίης. οί δε νομάδες ούτοι το προς την ηω ήμερέων τεσσέρων και δέκα όδον νέμονται

χώρην κατατείνουσαν έπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

20. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεύ-

matters they live like the Scythians, sow and eat corn, and onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones dwell Scythian tillers of the land, who sow corn not for eating but for selling; north of these, the Neuri; to the north of the Neuri the land is uninhabited so far as we know.

- 18. These are the tribes by the river Hypanis,1 westwards of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these dwell Scythian farmers, whom the Greek dwellers on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. These farming Seythians inhabit a land stretching eastward a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,2 and northward as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is uninhabited for a long way; after which desert is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation by themselves and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true desert, wherein no nation of men dwells, as far as we know.
- 19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, cross the river Panticapes, and you are in the land of nomad Scythians, who sow nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit to the eastward a country that stretches fourteen days' journey to the river Gerrus.³
 - 20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

 ¹ The Bug.

 ² Not identified.

 ³ Not identified.

μενα βασιλήια ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὖτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικήν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπί τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ἄρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναῖν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαίνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

21. Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστί, οὶ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες Βουδίνοι, γῆν νεμό-

μενοι πάσαν δασέαν ύλη παντοίη.

22. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὐνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὖτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόπφ τοιῷδε· λοχᾳ ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστφ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἴνεκα ἕτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδη τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπι-

Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs 1; and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

- 21. Across the Tanais it is no longer Scythia; the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey to the north, and is all bare of both forest and garden trees. Above these in the second division dwell the Budini, inhabiting a country thickly overgrown with trees of all kinds.
- 22. Northward of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days' journey; after this desert, and somewhat more towards the east wind, dwell the Thyssagetae, a numerous and a separate nation, living by the chase. Adjoining these and in the same country dwell the people called Iyrkae; these also live by the chase, in such manner as I will show. The hunter climbs a tree, and there sits ambushed; for trees grow thick all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to couch upon its belly for lowliness' sake, and his dog; and when he marks the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the

Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; cp. 110.

βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἦῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν

χώρον.

23. Μέχρι μεν δη της τούτων των Σκυθέων χώρης έστὶ ή καταλεχθείσα πάσα πεδιάς τε γή καί βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χώρης πολλον οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὀρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι είναι πάντες φαλακροί έκ γενετής γινόμενοι, καὶ έρσενες καὶ θήλεαι όμοιως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια έχοντες μεγάλα, φωνήν δὲ ιδίην ιέντες, έσθητι δε χρεώμενοι Σκυθική, ζώντες δε άπο δενδρέων. πουτικον μεν ούνομα τῷ δενδρέφ ἀπ οῦ ζωσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκέην μάλιστά κη. καρπον δε φορέει κυάμω ίσον, πυρηνα δε έχει. τούτο έπεαν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ιματίοισι, άπορρέει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυ· τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθεῖσι καί ταύτας σιτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά έστι· οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαΐαι αί νομαὶ αὐτόθι είσί. ύπο δενδρέω δε έκαστος κατοίκηται, τον μέν χειμώνα έπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψη πίλω στεγνώ λευκώ, το δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πίλου. τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικέει ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήιον ὅπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοίσι περιοικέουσι ούτοι είσι οί τὰς διαφοράς

bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, till the dog grips the prey. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

23. As far as the country of these Scythians all the aforesaid land is level and its soil is deep; but thereafter it is stony and rough. After a long passage through this rough country, there are men inhabiting the foothills of high mountains, who are said to be all bald from their birth (male and female alike) and snub-nosed and with long beards; they speak a tongue of their own, and wear Scythian raiment, and their fare comes from trees. The tree wherefrom they live is called "Pontic"; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid flows from it, which they call "aschu"1; they lick this up or mix it with milk for drinking, and of the thickest of the lees of it they make cakes, and eat them. For they have but few of smaller cattle, the pasture in their land not being good. They dwell each man under a tree, covering it in winter with a white felt cloth, but using no felt in summer. These people are wronged by no man, for they are said to be sacred; nor have they any weapon of war. These are they who judge in the quarrels between their neighbours; moreover, what-

¹ The fruit of the "Prunus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."

διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγη ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται. οὔνομα δέ σφι

έστι 'Αργιππαίοι.

24. Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείη τῆς χώρης ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστι πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεός τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οὶ ὰν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἐπτὰ ἑρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ

γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

25. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὅρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδείς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὑτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγουτες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὅρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἑξάμηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὕτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὕτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνη πατήρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται τὴν δὲ κεψαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἄτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες.

ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

24. Now as far as the land of these bald men we have full knowledge of the country and the nation on the hither side of them; for some of the Scythians make their way to them, from whom it is easy to get knowledge, and from some too of the Greeks from the Borysthenes port and the other ports of Pontus; such Scythians as visit them do their business with seven interpreters and in seven

languages.

25. So far then as these men this country is known; but, for what lies beyond the bald men, no one can speak with exact knowledge; for mountains high and impassable bar the way, and no man crosses them. These bald men say (but for my part I believe them not) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet; and that beyond these again are men who sleep for six months of the twelve. This I cannot at all accept for true. But the country east of the bald-heads is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones; howbeit, of what lies northward either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, save what comes from the report of these latter.

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones, that whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock, and having killed these and cut up the flesh they cut up also the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mingled together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and cleanse and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, whereto they offer yearly solemn sacrifice. Every

παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατά περ' Ελληνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὖτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὖτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουνοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας εἶναι παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ ᾿Αριμασπούς ἄριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι,

σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμόν.

28. Δυσχείμερος δε αύτη ή καταλεχθείσα πάσα χώρη ούτω δή τι ἐστί, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ έκχέας πηλον ου ποιήσεις, πύρ δε άνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν ή δε θάλασσα πήγνυται καὶ ό Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς άμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ές τοὺς Σίνδους. οὕτω μέν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐών, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστί. κεχώρισται δὲ οὖτος ὁ χειμὼν τούς τρόπους πασι τοίσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμώσι, έν τῷ τὴν μὲν ώραίην οὐκ ΰει λόγου άξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ΰων οὐκ ἀνιεῖ· βρουταί τε ήμος τη άλλη γίνονται, τηνικαύτα μέν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δε ἀμφιλαφέες ην δε χειμώνος βροντή γένηται, ώς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ως δε καὶ ην σεισμός γένηται ην τε θέρεος ην τε χειμώνος έν τη Σκυθική, τέρας νενόμισται. ἵπποι δε ανεχόμενοι φέρουσι τον χειμώνα τούτον, ημίονοι

son does so by his father, even as the Greeks in their festivals in honour of the dead. For the rest, these also are said to be a law-abiding people; and the women have equal power with the men.

27. Of these then also we have knowledge; but for what is northward of them, it is from the Issedones that the tale comes of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we again have taken it for true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, Arimaspians; for in the Scythian tongue arima is one, and spou

is the eye.

28. All this aforementioned country is exceeding cold; for eight months of every year there is frost unbearable, and in these you shall not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, and all the Cimmerian Bosporus; and the Scythians dwelling this side of the fosse lead armies over the ice, and drive their wains across to the land of the Sindi. So it is ever winter for eight months, and it is cold in that country for the four that remain. Here is a winter of a different sort from the winters that come in other lands; for in the season for rain there falls scarce any, but for all the summer there is rain unceasing; and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there is great plenty of them; if there come a thunderstorm in winter they are wont to marvel at it for a portent. And so too if there come an earthquake, be it in summer or winter, it is esteemed a portent in Scythia. Horses have endurance to bear the Scythian winter, mules

δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν· τῆ δὲ ἄλλη ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι,

όνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

29. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῆ γνώμη καὶ 'Ομήρου ἔπος ἐν 'Οδυσσείη ἔχον ὧδε,

καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέ-

ορθως εἰρημένου, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύειν κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἢ φύοντα φύειν

μόγις.

30. Ἐνθαῦτα μέν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δέ (προσθήκας γὰρ δή μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῆ Ἡλείη πάση χώρη οὐ δυνέαται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὕτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὕτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἡλεῖοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμιόνους, ἀλλ ἐπεὰν προσίη ἡ ὥρη κυίσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῆ τῶν πέλας ἐπιεῖσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὖ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἠέρα, καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα οὐκ οἰοί τε εἶναι οὕτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἠπείρου οὕτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τὰ κατ-ύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός. ἤδη ὧν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα άδρὴν πίπτουσαν

and asses cannot at all bear it; yet in other lands, whereas asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

29. And to my thinking it is for this cause that the hornless kind of oxen grows no horns in Scythia. There is a verse of Homer in the Odyssey that witnesses to my judgment; it is this:

"Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads,"

wherein it is rightly signified, that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts grow horns hardly, or not at all.

30. In Scythia, then, this happens because of the cold. But I hold it strange (for it was ever the way of my history to seek after subsidiary matters) that in the whole of Elis no mules can be begotten, albeit neither is the country cold nor is there any manifest cause. The Eleans themselves say that it is by reason of a curse that mules cannot be begotten among them; but whenever the season is at hand for the mares to conceive, they drive them away into the countries of their neighbours, and then send the asses to them in the neighbouring land, till the mares be pregnant; and then they drive them home again.

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for

είδε, οίδε τὸ λέγω ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐόντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὧν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

32: Υπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὖτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἄν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουνοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδω μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Υπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρω ἐν Ἐπιγόνοισι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἐόντι γε "Ομηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

33. Πολλφ δέ τι πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δήλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμη πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἑκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἐκαστάτω ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αδρίην, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλίνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν ᾿Ανδρον Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέεσθαι μέν νυν οὕτω

the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

32. Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones. And, as I think, even they tell nothing; for were it not so, then the Scythians too would have told, even as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem The Heroes' Sons, if that be truly the work of Homer.

33. But the Delians 2 tell much more concerning them than do any others. They say that offerings wrapt in wheat-straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when they have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbours till they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; thence they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and city sends them on to city till they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for it is Carystians who carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. Thus (they

1 One of the "Cyclic" poems; a sequel to the "Thebais"

(story of the seven against Thebes).

² This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.

ταῦτα τὰ ίρὰ λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον πρῶτον δε τοὺς Υπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ίρὰ δὺο κόρας, τὰς ὀυομάζουσι Δήλιοι είναι Υπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην άμα δε αὐτῆσι ἀσφαλείης είνεκεν πέμψαι τους Υπερβορέους των άστων άνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οὶ νῦν Περφερέες καλέουται τιμάς μεγάλας έν Δήλφ έχοντες. έπεὶ δὲ τοίσι Υπερβορέοισι τους άποπεμφθέντας οπίσω ούκ άπονοστέειν, δεινά ποιευμένους εί σφέας αίεὶ καταλάμψεται αποστέλλουτας μη αποδέκεσθαι, ούτω δη φέροντας ές τους ούρους τὰ ίρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους έπισκήπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα άπὸ έωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα άπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ές Δήλον. οίδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηικίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῆ ᾿Αρτέμιδι τῆ βασιλείη, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἰρά.

34. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσησι ἐν Δήλω κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ ᾿Αρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίη), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι

καὶ οὖτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμά.

35. Αὖται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὖτοι καὶ τὴν Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἐούσας παρθέ-

say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, sending with them for safe conduct five men of their people as escort, those who are now called Perpherees 1 and greatly honoured at Delos. But when the Hyperboreans found that those whom they sent never returned, they were very ill content that it should ever be their fate not to receive their messengers back; wherefore they carry the offerings, wrapt in wheat-straw, to their borders, and charge their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings, namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have wheat-straw with them while they sacrifice.

34. This I know that they do. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honour of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb, wound about a spindle; this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis; the Delian boys twine some of their hair round a green stalk, and they likewise lay it on the tomb.

35. Thus then are these maidens honoured by the inhabitants of Delos. These same Delians relate that two virgins, Arge and Opis, came from the

¹ That is, probably, the Bearers.

νους έξ Υπερβορέων κατά τούς αὐτούς τούτους ανθρώπους πορευομένας απικέσθαι ές Δήλον έτι πρότερον Υπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μέν νυν τη Είλειθυίη ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ωκυτόκου του ετάξαντο φόρον απικέσθαι, την δε "Αργην τε και την "Ωπιν άμα αὐτοῖσι θεοίσι απικέσθαι λέγουσι καί σφι τιμάς άλλας δεδόσθαι πρός σφέων και γαρ άγείρειν σφι τας γυναίκας έπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνφ τόν σφι 'Ωλην άνηρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρά δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καί Ίωνας ύμνέειν "Ωπίν τε καὶ "Αργην ονομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὖτος δε ό 'Ωλην και τους άλλους τους παλαιους ύμνους εποίησε εκ Λυκίης ελθών τους αειδομένους εν Δήλφ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς "Ωπιός τε καὶ "Αργης ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ή δε θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὅπισθε τοῦ ᾿Αρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἡῶ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηίων ίστιητορίου.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω τὸν γὰρ περὶ ᾿Αβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὡς ¹ τὸν ὀιστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πὰσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ ὑπερβόρεοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον οὶ Ὠκεανόν τε ρέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίην τῆ Εὐρώπη ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ

οίη τις έστὶ ές γραφην έκάστη.

BOOK IV. 35-36

Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice: these latter came to bring to Ilithvia the tribute whereto they had agreed for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,1 and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge; which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

36. Thus far have I spoken of the Hyperboreans, and let it suffice; for I do not tell the story of that Abaris, alleged to be a Hyperborean, who carried the arrow over the whole world, fasting the while. But if there be men beyond the north wind, then there are others beyond the south. And I laugh to see how many have ere now drawn maps of the world, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean, and Asia and Europe of a like bigness. For myself, I will in a few words show the extent of the two, and

how each should be drawn.

¹ Apollo and Artemis, probably.

37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φᾶσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. Ένθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσιαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκέει δὲ ἐν

τη ἀκτη ταύτη έθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39. Αυτη μέν νυν ή έτέρη των ἀκτέων, ή δὲ δὴ ἐτέρη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ ᾿Ασσυρίη καὶ ἀπὸ ᾿Ασσυρίης ἡ ᾿Αραβίη· λήγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμω, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ᾿Αράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. μέχρι μέν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Λίγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾶ· ἐν τῷ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

40. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς ᾿Ασίης ἔχοντα ἐστί· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περ-

37. The land where the Persians dwell reaches to the southern sea, that sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspires, and beyond the Saspires the Colchians, whose country reaches to the northern sea 1 into which issues the river Phasis; so these four nations dwell between the one sea and the other.

38. But westwards of this region two promontories stretch out from it into the sea, which I will now describe. On the north side one of the promontories begins at the Phasis and stretches seaward along the Pontus and the Hellespont, as far as Sigeum in the Troad; on the south side the same promontory has a seacoast beginning at the Myriandric gulf that is near Phoenice, and stretching seaward as far as the Triopian headland. On this promontory dwell thirty nations.

39. This is the first promontory. But the second, beginning with Persia, stretches to the Red Sea, being the Persian land, and next the neighbouring country of Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; this promontory ends (yet not truly but only by common consent) at the Arabian Gulf, whereunto Darius brought a canal from the Nile. Now from the Persian country to Phoenice there is a wide and great tract of land; and from Phoenice this promontory runs beside our sea by the way of the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, which is at the end of it; in this promontory there are but three nations.

40. So much for the parts of Asia west of the Persians. But what is beyond the Persians, and

¹ Here, the Black Sea; in 42, the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.

σέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπείρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἦῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ ᾿Αράξης ποταμός, ρέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται ᾿Ασίη· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἦῶ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἷον δή τι ἐστί.

41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ 'Ασίη ἐστί, ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῆ ἀκτῆ τῆ ἑτέρη ἐστί ἀπὸ γὰρ Λἰγύτπτου Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μέν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινή ἐστι ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων, αὕται δ' ὰν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύη κέκληται.

42. Θωμάζω ὧν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ ᾿Ασίην καὶ Εὐρώπην οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί· μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὔρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίη φαίνεταί μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἑωυτὴν¹ ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ᾿Ασίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Λἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος · ὸς ἐπείτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν ᾿Αράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεπψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι᾽ Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὁρμηθέντες ὧν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἔπλεον

BOOK IV. 40-42

Medes, and Saspires, and Colchians, eastward and toward the rising sun, this is bounded on the one hand by the Red Sea, and to the north by the Caspian Sea, and the river Araxes, that flows towards the sun's rising. As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land; but thereafter all to the east is desert, nor can any man say what kind of land is there.

- 41. Such is Asia, and such its extent. But Libya is on this second promontory; for Libya comes next after Egypt. The Egyptian part of this promontory is narrow; for from our sea to the Red Sea it is a distance of an hundred thousand fathoms, that is, a thousand furlongs; but after this narrow part the promontory which is called Libya is very broad.
- 42. I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be beyond all comparison broader. For Libya shows clearly that it is encompassed by the sea, save only where it borders on Asia; and this was proved first (as far as we know) by Necos king of Egypt. He, when he had made an end of digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent Phoenicians in ships, charging them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles till they should come into the northern sea and so to Egypt. So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and

την νοτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον, προσσχόντες ἂν σπείρεσκον την γην, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε της Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον θερίσαντες δ΄ ἂν τὸν σῖτον ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλῳ δὲ δή τεῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες την Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

43. Ούτω μεν αύτη εγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ο Τεάσπιος άνηρ 'Αχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δείσας τό τε μήκος του πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπήλθε οπίσω, ουδ' επετέλεσε τον επέταξε οι ή μήτηρ άεθλου. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου έβιήσατο παρθένον έπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην την αιτίην ανασκολοπιείσθαι ύπο Εέρξεω βασιλέος, ή μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐοῦσα Δαρείου άδελφεή παραιτήσατο, φασά οι αὐτή μέζω ζημίην έπιθήσειν ή περ έκείνου. Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην έσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ές δ αν απίκηται περιπλέων αὐτην ές τὸν 'Αράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ές Λίγυπτον καὶ λαβών νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων έπλεε έπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπλώσας δὲ και κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ ούνομα Σολόεις έστί, έπλεε προς μεσαμβρίην περήsailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and sow the land, to whatever part of Libya they might come, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered in the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the Pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.¹

43. Thus the first knowledge of Libya was gained. The next story is that of the Carchedonians: for as for Sataspes son of Teaspes, an Achaemenid, he did not sail round Libya, though he was sent for that end; but he feared the length and the loneliness of the voyage and so returned back without accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother. For he had raped the virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus; and when on this charge he was to be impaled by King Xerxes, Sataspes' mother, who was Darius' sister, begged for his life, saying that she would lay a heavier punishment on him than did Xerxes; for he should be compelled to sail round Libva, till he completed his voyage and came to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes agreeing to this, Sataspes went to Egypt, where he received a ship and a crew from the Egyptians, and sailed past the Pillars of Heracles. Having sailed out beyond them, and rounded the Libvan promontory called Solois,2 he

² Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.

¹ The detail which Herodotus does not believe incidentally confirms the story; as the ship sailed west round the Cape of Good Hope, the sun of the southern hemisphere would be on its right. Most authorities now accept the story of the circumnavigation.

σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλην ἐν πολλοῖσι μησί, ἐπείτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ έδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ές Αίγυπτου. έκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξεα έλεγε φας τα προσωτάτω άνθρώπους μικρούς παραπλέειν έσθητι φοινικηίη διαχρεωμένους, οὶ ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοίατο τῆ νηὶ φεύγεσκου πρὸς τὰ όρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικέειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μοῦνα έξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλώσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αίτιον τόδε έλεγε, το πλοίον το πρόσω οὐ δυνατον έτι είναι προβαίνειν άλλ' ένίσχεσθαι. Ξέρξης δε ού οι συγγινώσκων λέγειν άληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ές Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, έχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ανήρ κατέσχε, του έπιστάμενος το ούνομα έκων έπιλήθομαι.

44. Της δὲ ᾿Ασίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρειου εξευρέθη, ὸς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ὸς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὖτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῆ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστενε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. οἱ δὲ ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Λίγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἰπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλώειν Λιβύην. μετὰ

BOOK IV. 43-44

sailed southward; but when he had been many months sailing far over the sea, and ever there was more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Thence coming to Xerxes, he told in his story how when he was farthest distant he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf raiment; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, would ever leave their towns and flee to the hills; he and his men did no wrong when they landed, and took naught from the people but what they needed for eating. As to his not sailing wholly round Libva, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was staved. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke truth, and as the task appointed was unfulfilled he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had an cunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master's death escaped to Samos, with a great store of wealth, of which a man of Samos possessed himself. I know the man's name but of set purpose forget it.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After

δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδούς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος καὶ τῆ θαλάσση ταύτη ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς ᾿Ασίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῆ

Λιβύη.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκομένη, ούτε τὰ πρὸς ήλιον ἀνατέλλοντα ούτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περίρρυτος εστί· μήκεϊ δε γινώσκεται παρ άμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. οὐδ' έχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτευ μιῆ ἐούση γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῆ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος (οῖ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἤδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλή-νων ἔχειν τὸ οὔνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ ᾿Λσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μεν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Αυδοί, φάμενοι έπι 'Ασίεω τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλησθαι την 'Ασίην, άλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ της Προμηθέος 'Ασίης. ἀπ' ότευ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκλήσθαι 'Ασιάδα. ή δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, ούτε οκόθεν το ούνομα έλαβε τοῦτο, ούτε όστις οι ην ο θέμενος φαίνεται, εί μη άπο της Τυρίης φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβείν το ούνομα την χώρην πρότερον δε ην άρα ἀνώνυμος ὥσπερ αἰ ἔτεραι. ἀλλ' αὔτη γε ἐκ της ᾿Ασίης τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς την γην ταύτην ήτις νύν ύπο Έλληνων Ευρώπη καλέεται, άλλ' όσον

BOOK IV. 44-45

this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun,

was in other respects like Libya.

45. But of Europe it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is encompassed by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. Nor can I guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all of women, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian river Nile and the Colchian river Phasis (though some say that the Macetian river Tanaïs and the Cimmerian Ferries are boundaries); nor can I learn the names of those who divided the world, or whence they got the names which they gave. For Libva is said by most Greeks to be called after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus²; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not called after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it be surrounded or not by seas, nor whence it took its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we are to say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (as it would seem) till then nameless like the others. But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call

¹ cp. ch. 12.

² The Fire-giver celebrated by Asschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in *Prometheus Unbound*.

έκ Φοινίκης ές Κρήτην, έκ Κρήτης δὲ ές Λυκίην. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ

νομιζομένοισι αυτών χρησύμεθα.

46. 'Ο δε Πόντος ο Εύξεινος, επ' ον έστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρείος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται έξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος των εντός του Πόντου ουδεν έχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι ούτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Αναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικώ γένει εν μεν το μέγιστον των ανθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων έξεύρηται των ήμεις ίδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ούτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ώστε ἀποφυγείν τε μηδένα επελθόντα έπὶ σφέας, μη βουλομένους τε έξευρεθήναι καταλαβείν μη οίον τε είναι. τοίσι γαρ μήτε άστεα μήτε τείχεα ή έκτισμένα, άλλα Φερέοικοι έόντες πάντες έωσι ίπποτοξόται, ζώντες μη ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τε σφι ή έπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ αν εἴησαν οὖτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

47. Έξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐύντων σφι συμμάχων. ἤ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς αὕτη ποιώδης τε καὶ εὔυδρος ἐστί, ποταμοί τε δι αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῷ διωρύχων. ὅσοι εὲ ὀνομαστοί τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω¹:... "Ιστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ "Υπανις καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ 'Υπάκυρις τὰ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς. ῥέουσι δὲ οἴδε κατὰ τάδε.

48. Ίστρος μέν, έων μέγιστος ποταμών πάντων

¹ Something is omitted, είσι δὲ ἀκτὰ οίδε or the like.

BOOK IV. 45-48

Europe, but only from Phoenice to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus far have I spoken of these matters, and let it suffice; we will use the names by custom established.

- 46. Nowhere are men seen so dull-witted (I say not this of the Scythian nation) as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus, against which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation on the hither side of the Pontus has aught of cleverness, nor do we know (not reckoning the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) of any notable man born there. But the Scythian race has in that matter which of all human affairs is of greatest import made the cleverest discovery that we know; I praise not the Scythians in all respects, but in this greatest matter they have so devised that none who attacks them can escape, and none can catch them if they desire not to be found. For when men have no stablished cities or fortresses, but all are house-bearers and mounted archers, living not by tilling the soil but by cattlerearing and carrying their dwellings on waggons, how should these not be invincible and unapproachable?
- 47. This invention they have made in a land which suits their purpose and has rivers which are their allies; for their country is level and grassy and well watered and rivers run through it not greatly fewer than the canals of Egypt. As many of them as are famous and can be entered from the sea, these I will name. . . . There is the Ister, that has five mouths, and next, the Tyras, and Hypanis, and Borysthenes, and Panticapes, and Hypacuris, and Gerrhus, and Tanais. Their courses are as I will show.

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to

τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς έωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' έσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ ρέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε ποταμών καὶ άλλων ές αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων είσὶ δὴ οίδε οι μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μέν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τόν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ελληνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ "Αραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ 'Ορδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρώτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἡῶ ῥέων ανακοινούται τῷ Ίστρω τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθείς Τιάραντος προς έσπέρης τε μάλλον καί έλάσσων, ό δὲ δὴ "Αραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ο 'Ορδησσος δια μέσου τούτων ζόντες ἐσβάλλουσι

ές του "Ιστρου.

49. Ο ύτοι μεν αὐθιγενέες Σκυθικοί ποταμοί συμπληθύουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ ᾿Αγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμός ρέων συμμίσγεται τῷ "Ιστρφ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Α μου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, "Ατλας καὶ Αύρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες 'Αθρυς καὶ Νόης καὶ 'Αρτάνης ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν "Ιστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιώνων καὶ ὄρεος 'Ροδόπης Κίος ποταμός μέσον σχίζων τον Αίμον ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δε ρέων πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον "Αγγρος ποταμὸς έσβάλλει ές πεδίον το Τριβαλλικον και ές ποταμον Βρόγγον, ό δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἐόντας μεγάλους ὁ "Ιστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης 'Ομβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ άλλος "Αλπις ποταμός προς βορέην άνεμου

us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus, and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

49. These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the river Maris, which commingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi; the Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow northward from the heights of Haemus.² The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes issue into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzi in Thrace; the river Cius, which cuts through the midst of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. The river Angrus flows northward from Illyria into the Triballic plain and the river Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister, which so receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici,

¹ Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other

four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.

² The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names $K \acute{a} \rho \pi \iota s$ and $'A \lambda \pi \iota s$ must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps and Carpathians.

καὶ οὖτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτόν · ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη · ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

50. Τούτων ὧν τών καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλών συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ύδωρ γίνεται ό "Ιστρος ποταμών μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς εν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νείλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει. ές γάρ δή τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία έσδιδούσα ές πληθός οι συμβάλλεται. ίσος δὲ αίει ρέει έν τε θέρει και χειμώνι ο "Ιστρος κατά τοιόνδε τι, ώς έμοὶ δοκέει τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ όσος περ έστί, ολίγω τε μέζων της έωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται · ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ολίγω, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται · τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιων ή έν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ίστρον. αὕτη τε δή ή χιων ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύει καὶ όμβροι πολλοί τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῆ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. ὅσφ δὲ πλέον ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἤλιος ἐπέλκετσι ἐν τῷ θέρεϊ ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσούτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρφ πολλαπλήσια έστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ή περ τοῦ χειμώνος άντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ώστε ἴσον μιν αίεὶ φαίνεσθαι έόντα.

51. Είς μεν δη των ποταμών τοισι Σκύθησι έστι ό Ίστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, δς ἀπὸ βορέω μεν ἀνέμου όρμᾶται, ἄρχεται δὲ ρέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ἡ οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικην καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηνται

Έλληνες οὶ Τυρίται καλέονται.

BOOK IV. 49-51

to issue into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts who, save only the Cynetes, are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth

along the borders of Scythia.

50. Seeing, then, that these aforesaid rivers, and many others too, are its tributaries, the Ister becomes the greatest of all rivers; stream for stream, indeed, the Nile has a greater volume, for no river or spring joins it to swell its volume of water. But the Ister is ever of the same height in summer and winter, whereof I think this to be the reason. In winter it is of its customary size, or only a little greater than is natural to it, for in that country in winter there is very little rain, but snow everywhere. But in the summer the abundant snow which has fallen in winter melts and pours from all sides into the Ister: so this snow pours into the river and helps to swell it with much violent rain besides, the summer being the season of rain. And in the same degree as the sun draws to itself more water in summer than in winter, the water that commingles with the Ister is many times more abundant in summer than it is in winter; these opposites keep the balance true, so that the volume of the river appears ever the same.

51. One of the rivers of the Scythians, then, is the Ister. The next is the Tyras¹; this comes from the north, flowing at first out of a great lake, which is the boundary between the Scythian and the Neurian countries; at the mouth of the river there is a settlement of Greeks, who are called Tyritae.

¹ The Dniester.

52. Τρίτος δὲ "Υπανις ποταμὸς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ 'Υπάνιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν ἀνατέλλων ὁ "Υπανις ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· ἐκδιδοῖ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρή, οὕτω δή τι ἐοῦσα πικρή, ἡ μεγάθεϊ σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα κιριᾳ τὸν "Υπανιν ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὔροισι χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ 'Αλαζόνων οὔνομα δὲ τῆ κρήνη καὶ ὅθεν ῥέρι τῷ χώρω σκυθιστὶ μὲν 'Εξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ίραὶ ὁδοί. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὅ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ "Υπανις κατὰ 'Αλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, δς ἐστί τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ίστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὐτι μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῷ γὰροὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, δς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαί τε ἥδιστος ἐστί, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῆ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρη, βαθυτάτη· ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πήγνυνται ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν,

- 52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians 1 and the Alazones; the name of it and of the country whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow divergent, widening the space between.
- 53. The fourth is the river Borysthenes. This is the next greatest of them after the Ister, and the most serviceable, according to our judgment, not only of the Scythian rivers but of all, except the Egyptian Nile, with which no other river can be compared. But of the rest the Borysthenes is the most serviceable; it provides for beasts the fairest pasture lands and easiest of access, and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and their abundance. Its water is most sweet to drink, flowing with a clear current, whereas the other rivers are turbid. There is excellent tilth on its banks, and very rich grass where the land is not sown; and self-formed crusts of salt abound at its mouth; it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for the

άλλα τε πολλά θωμάσαι άξια. μέχρι μέν νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ές τον τεσσεράκοντα ήμερέων πλόος ἐστί, γινώσκεται ρέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου. τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι' ὧν ρέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι φαίνεται δε ρέων δι ερήμου ες των γεωργών Σκυθέων την χώρην ούτοι γάρ οί Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ έχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Έλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ρέων γίνεται καί οί συμμίσγεται ό "Υπανις ές τώυτὸ έλος ἐκδιδούς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, έὸν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἱππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται, εν δε αὐτῷ ίρον Δήμητρος ενίδρυται. πέρην δὲ τοῦ ίροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυσθενείται κατοίκηνται.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὔνομα Παντικάπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὖτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένεϊ συμμίσγεται.

55. Έκτος δὲ Ὑπάκυρις ποταμός, δς δρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ρέων ἐκδιδοῦ κατὰ Καρκινῖτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τήν τε Ὑλαίην καὶ τὸν ᾿Αχιλλήιον

δρόμον καλεόμενον.

56. Έβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται

salting, and many other wondrous things besides. Its course is from the north, and there is knowledge of it as far as the Gerrhan land, that is, for forty days' voyage; beyond that, no man can say through what nations it flows; but it is plain that it flows through desert country to the land of the farming Scythians, who dwell beside it for a ten days' voyage. This is the only river, besides the Nile, whereof I cannot say what is the source; nor, I think, can any Greek. When the stream of the Borysthenes comes near the sea, the Hypanis mingles with it, issuing into the same marsh; the land between these rivers, being a jutting beak of the country, is called Hippolaus' promontory; a temple of Demeter stands there. The settlement of the Borystheneitae is beyond the temple, on the Hypanis.

54. This is the knowledge that comes to us from these rivers. After these there is a fifth river called Panticapas; this also flows from the north out of a lake, and the land between it and the Borysthenes is inhabited by the farming Scythians; it issues into the Woodland country; which having passed it

mingles with the Borysthenes.

55. The sixth is the river Hypacuris, which rises from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomad Scythians issues out near the city of Carcine, bordering on its right the Woodland and the region called the Racecourse of Achilles.

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

¹ Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The "city of Carcine" lay at the eastern end of the Scythian sea-coast, close to the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.

μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς δ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης ἀπέσχισται μέν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὔνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χῶρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τήν τε τῶν νομάδων χώρην καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκυριν.

57. 'Όγδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός, δς ρέει τἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης όρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, ἡ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληίους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ

ούνομα έστὶ "Υργις.

58. Τοίσι μεν δη ονομαστοίσι ποταμοίσι ούτω δή τι οι Σκύθαι εσκευάδαται, τοίσι δε κτήνεσι ή ποίη ἀναφυομένη εν τη Σκυθική εστι επιχολωτάτη πασέων ποιέων των ήμεις ἴδμεν ἀνοιγομένοισι δε τοίσι κτήνεσι εστι σταθμώσασθαι ότι

τοῦτο ούτω ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὕπορα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἰλάσκονται, Ἱστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ᾿Απόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην ᾿Αφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἦρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἱστίη μὲν Ἱαβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ ᾿Απί. ᾿Απόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ ᾿Αφροδίτη ᾿Αργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασάδας. ἀγάλ-

the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hypacuris.

57. The eighth is the river Tanaïs 1; this in its upper course begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae; another river, called Hyrgis, 2 is a tributary of

this Tanaïs.

58. These are the rivers of name with which the Scythians are provided. For the rearing of cattle the grass growing in Scythia is the most bile-making of all pastures known to us; it can be judged by the opening of the bodies of the cattle that this is so.

59. The Scythians then have what most concerns them ready to hand. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice also to Poseidon. In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti: Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaeus 3; Earth is Apia, Apollo Goctosyrus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Artimpasa, and Poseidon

¹ The Don.

² Perhaps the "Syrgis" of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.

³ As the "All-Father"; cp. such words as πάπας, παπίας, etc.

ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν πλὴν 'Αρεϊ· τούτω δὲ νομίζουσι.
60. Θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ίρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ίρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας έστηκε, ο δε θύων όπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος έστεως σπάσας την άρχην τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἀν θύη, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχω περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δε εμβαλών περιάγει και άποπνίγει, ούτε πύρ ανακαύσας ούτε καταρξάμενος ούτ' έπισπείσας άποπνίξας δε καὶ άποδείρας τράπεται

προς έψησιν.

61. Της δε γης της Σκυθικής αίνως άξύλου έούσης ὧδέ σφι ές την έψησιν τῶν κρεῶν έξεύρηται έπειδαν αποδείρωσι τα ίρηια, γυμνούσι τα οστέα των κρεών, έπειτα έσβαλλουσι, ην μέν τύχωσι έχοντες, ές λέβητας έπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητήρσι προσεικέλους, χωρίς ή ότι πολλώ μέζονας ές τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες έψουσι ύποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρηίων. ἢν δὲ μή σφι παρή ὁ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρηίων έσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ύδωρ υποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα· τὰ δὲ αἴθεται κάλλιστα, αί δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα έψιλωμένα των οστέων και ούτω βούς τε έωυτον έξέψει και τάλλα ίρηια έωυτο έκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ έψηθη τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ρίπτει ές τὸ έμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62. Τοίσι μεν δη άλλοισι των θεων ούτω θύουσι

BOOK IV. 59-62

Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

60. In all their sacred services alike they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered. The victim itself stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by plucking the end of its rope; as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose round the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the firstfruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and flayed the beast, he sets

about cooking it.

61. Now the Scythian land is wondrous bare of wood: so this is their device for cooking the flesh. When they have flayed the victims, they strip the flesh from the bones and throw them into the cauldrons of the country, if they have such: these are most like to Lesbian bowls, save that they are much bigger; into these then they throw the victim's bones, and cook them by lighting a fire beneath. But if they have no cauldron, then they cast all the flesh into the victim's stomachs, adding water thereto, and make a fire beneath of the bones, which burn finely; the stomachs easily hold the flesh when it is stripped from the bones; thus an ox serves to cook itself, and every other victim does likewise. When the flesh is cooked, the sacrificer takes the firstfruits of the flesh and the entrails and casts it before him. They use all beasts of the flock for sacrifice, but chiefly horses.

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other

καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ "Αρεϊ ὧδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυταί σφι "Αρεος ίρον τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται όσον τ' έπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ύψος δὲ έλασσον άνω δε τούτου τετράγωνον άπεδον πεποίηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβατόν. ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου άμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ έκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων ύπονοστεει γαρ δη αίει ύπο των χειμώνων. έπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ίδρυται ἀρχαίος έκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ 'Αρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτω δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκη θυσίας έπετείους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ίππων, καὶ δη καὶ τοῖσιδ' έτι πλέω θύουσι ή τοῖσι άλλοισι θεοίσι όσους αν των πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, άπὸ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι τρόπφ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' έτεροίφ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οίνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατά τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς άγγος καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. ἀνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τούτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ίρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν άποσφαγέντων άνδρων τους δεξιούς ώμους πάντας ἀποταμόντες σὺν τῆσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἠέρα ἰείσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἰρήια ἀπαλλάσσονται. χεὶρ δὲ τῆ ἂν πέση κέεται, καὶ χωρίς ὁ νεκρός.

63. Θυσίαι μέν νυν αὖταί σφι κατεστᾶσι. ὑσὶ δὲ οὖτοι οὐδὲι νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῆ χώρη

τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

64. Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὅδέ σφι διακέαται ἐπεὰι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλη ἀνὴρ

BOOK IV. 62-64

gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a building sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred building they cut off the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

63. These then are their established fashions of sacrifice; but of swine these Scythians make no offerings; nor are they willing for the most part to

rear them in their country.

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has

Σκύθης, τοῦ αίματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ' αν φονεύση έν τη μάχη, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ Βασιλέι. ἀπενείκας μεν γάρ κεφαλήν της ληίης μεταλαμβάνει την αν λάβωσι, μη ενείκας δε ού. άποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπφ τοιῷδε περιταμών κύκλω περί τὰ ὧτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς έκσείει, μετά δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρή δέψει τήσι χερσί, δργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἄτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτηται, έκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, έκ τούτου έξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται ος γὰρ αν πλείστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα έχη, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὖτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-ξαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατά περ βαίτας. πολλοί δὲ ἀνδρῶν έχθρων τὰς δεξιὰς χείρας νεκρων ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρον ην άρα, σχεδον δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκύτητι. πολλοί δε καὶ όλους ἄνδρας έκδείραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς, οὕτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἔκαστος ¹ πῶν τὸ ἔνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἢν μὲν ἢ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὡμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἢν δὲ ἢ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὡμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίω. ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἤν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήση αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶ βασιλέι. ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον

overthrown. He carries to his king the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle; for he receives a share of the booty taken if he bring a head, but not otherwise. He scalps the head by making a cut round it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head out. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of an ox, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a napkin, fastening it to the bridle of the horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he is judged the best man who has most scalps for napkins. Many Scythians even make garments for wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coats of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' hands, and make thereof coverings for their quivers; it would seem that the human skin is thick and shining, of all skins, one may say, the brightest and whitest. There are many too that flay the skin from the whole body and carry it about on horseback stretched on a wooden frame.

65. The heads themselves, not of all but of their bitterest foes, they treat in this wise. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleanses the rest. If he be a poor man, then he does but cover the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he be rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and so uses it for a drinking-cup. Such cups a man makes also of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been at feud, and whom he has worsted in a suit before the king; and if guests whom he honours visit

ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκήιοι πόλεμον προσεθή-καντο καί σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην

ανδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

66. "Απαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης ἔκαστος ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ νομῷ κιρνῷ κρητῆρα οἴνου, ἀπ' οῦ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ὰν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι· τοῖσι δ' ὰν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἢτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος δέ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ὰν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὖτοι δὲ

σύνδυο κύλικας έχοντες πίνουσι όμοῦ.

67. Μάντιες δε Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οὶ μαντεύονται ράβδοισι ἰτείνησι πολλησι ὧδε ἐπεὰν φακέλους ράβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην ράβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἄμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ράβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. αὕτη μέν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωίη ἐστί. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι φιλύρης δ' ὧν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίση, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾳ.

68. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οὶ τρόπφ τῷ εἰρημένφ μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὐτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληίας ἱστίας ἐπιώρκηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ λέγωσι. τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθησι

him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him; this they call manly valour.

- 66. Moreover once in every year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, whereof those Seythians drink who have slain enemies; those who have not achieved this taste not this wine but sit apart dishonoured; and this they count a very great disgrace; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies, they have each two cups and so drink of them both.
- 67. There are among the Scythians many diviners, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations laying one rod on another; and while they yet speak they gather up the rods once more and lay them together one by one; this manner of divination is hereditary among them. The Enareis, who are epicene, say that Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark. They cut this bark into three portions, and prophesy while they plait and unplait these in their fingers.
- 68. But whenever the king of the Scythians falls sick, he sends for the three diviners most in repute, who prophesy in the aforesaid manner; and they for the most part tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it is of the people of the country) has forsworn himself by the king's hearth; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is

τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ὀμνύναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον όρκον ἐθέλωσι ὀμνύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος άγεται ούτος τὸν αν δη φωσι ἐπιορκησαι, άπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ώς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται εν τη μαντική τὰς βασιληίας ίστίας καὶ διά ταθτα άλγέει ο βασιλεύς. δ δε άρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος επιορκήσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται. άρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας καὶ ην μὲν καὶ οὖτοι ἐσορώντες ές την μαντικήν καταδήσωσι έπιορκήσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων ην δε οι επελθόντες μάντιες απολύσωσι, άλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα άλλοι. ην ων οί πλευνες τον άνθρωπον απολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοισι πρώτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. 'Απολλῦσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπω τοιῷδε ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χεῖρας ὀπίσω δήσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργνῦσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα. ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῆ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένω καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνη βασιλεύς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ

έρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικέει.

70. "Ορκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς αν ποιέωνται ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἶμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ταμ-

by the king's hearth that their custom is to swear most solemnly. Forthwith the man whom they allege to be forsworn is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have forsworn himself by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he is forsworn. So when he denies it the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, looking into their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then straightway he is beheaded and his goods are divided among the first diviners; but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and vet again others. If then the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners shall themselves be put to death.

69. And this is the manner of their death. Men yoke oxen to a waggon laden with sticks and make the diviners fast amid these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, affrighting them. Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the pole of their waggon is burnt through and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the manner aforesaid, calling them false prophets. When the king puts a man to death, neither does he leave the sons alive, but kills all the males of the family; to the females he does no hurt.

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement

νομένων, τύψαντες ὖπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρη σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοί τε οἱ τὸ ὅρκιον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων οἱ

πλείστου άξιοι.

71. Ταφαί δε των βασιλέων έν Γέρροισι είσί ές δ ό Βορυσθένης έστὶ προσπλωτός ενθαῦτα, έπεάν σφι άποθάνη ο βασιλεύς, όρυγμα γης μέγα ορύσσουσι τετράγωνον, έτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες άναλαμβάιουσι τον νεκρόν, κατακεκηρωμένον μεν το σωμα, την δε νηδύν άνασχισθείσαν καὶ καθαρθείσαν, πλέην κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμιήματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερραμμένην οπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν άμάξη ἐς άλλο έθνος. οὶ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τον νεκρόν, ποιεύσι τά περ οί βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι τοῦ ἀτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ρίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀιστοὺς δια-βυνέονται. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῆ ἀμάξη τοῦ βασιλέως τον νέκυν ές ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι οὶ δέ σφι έπονται ές τοὺς πρότερον ήλθον. έπεαν δε πάντας περιέλθωσι τον νέκυν κομίζοντες, έν τε Γέρροισι έσχατα κατοικημένοισι είσὶ τῶν έθνέων των άρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῆσι ταφῆσι. καὶ έπειτα, έπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῆσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αίχμας ένθεν καὶ ένθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ριψὶ

 $^{^{1}}$ &s $6-\pi\rho\sigma\pi\lambda\omega\tau\delta s$ is bracketed by Stein, chiefly on the ground of inconsistency with ch. 53.

by making a little hole or cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a great earthenware cup, wherein they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done the makers of the sworn agreement themselves, and the most honourable of their followers, drink of the blood after solemn imprecations.

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground; when this is ready they take up the dead man-his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again-and carry him on a waggon to another tribe. Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial. Then, having laid the dead in the tomb on a couch, they plant spears all round the body and lay across them wooden planks, which they then roof over with hides; in the

καταστεγάζουσι, εν δε τῆ λοιπῆ εὐρυχωρίη τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἱπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ὅππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας ἀργύρω δε οὐδεν οὐδε χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ταῦτα δε ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς

μέγιστον ποιήσαι.

72. Ένιαυτου δε περιφερομένου αθτις ποιευσι τοιονδε λαβόντες των λοιπών θεραπόντων τούς έπιτηδεοτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἐγγενέες· οὖτοι γαρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς αν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύση, άργυρωνητοι δε ούκ είσί σφι θεράποντες, τούτων ών των διηκόνων έπεαν άποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ίππους τούς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, έξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλᾶσι άχύρων καὶ συρράπτουσι. άψίδος δὲ ήμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ύπτιον καὶ τὸ έτερον ήμισυ της αψίδος ἐπ' ἔτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπω τοιούτω πολλά ταθτα, ἔπειτα των ἵππων κατά τά μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς άψιδας τῶν δε αί μεν πρότεραι άψίδες ύπέχουσι τους ώμους τῶν ἵππων, αί δὲ ὅπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινούς δὲ καὶ στόμια έμβαλόντες ές τους ίππους κατατείνουσι ές τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τών δε δή νεηνίσκων τών ἀποπεπνιγμένων τών πεντήκοντα ένα έκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ίππου, ώδε αναβιβάζοντες, έπεαν νεκρού έκάστου

open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one

another to make this as great as may be.

72. With the completion of a year they begin a fresh practice. Taking the trustiest of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those serve the king whom he bids so to do, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) they strangle fifty of these squires and fifty of their best horses and empty and cleanse the bellies of all and fill them with chaff. Then they make fast the half of a wheel to two posts, so that it hangs down, and the other half to another pair of posts, till many posts thus furnished are planted in the ground, and, presently, driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they lay the horses aloft on the wheels so that the wheel in front supports the horse's shoulders and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths they stretch the bridles to the front and make them fast with pegs. Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through each

παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τόρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἑτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλφ τὸ

σημα ίππέας τοιούτους άπελαύνουσι.

73. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξησι κειμένους τῶν δὲ ἔκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πίλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων.

74. Έστι δέ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη έν τῆ χώρη πλην παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῷ ἐμφερεστάτη· ταύτη δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἡ καινάβιος ἐστί· δς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον

δοκήσει είναι τὸ είμα.

75. Ταύτης ὧν οι Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ

BOOK IV. 72-75

body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

73. Such is their way of burying their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in waggons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are thus borne about for forty days and then buried. After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as I will show: they anoint and wash their heads; as for their bodies, they set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with woollen rugs; then, in the place so enclosed to the best of their power, they make a pit in the centre beneath the poles and the rugs and throw red-hot stones into it.

74. They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, save that the hemp is by much the thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their sowing, and of it the Thracians even make garments which are very like linen; nor could any, save he were a past master in hemp, know whether they be hempen or linen; whoever has never yet seen hemp will think the garment to be linen.

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the rugs, they throw it

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τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιᾶται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ιστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἄν μιν πυρίη ἀποκρατήσειε. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῷ πυρίῃ ἀρύονται τοῦτό σφι ἀιτὶ λουτροῦ ἐστι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσαι κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὸν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἄμα μὲν εὐωδίη σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἄμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσαι τῷ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν κατα-

πλαστύν γίνονται καθαραί καὶ λαμπραί.

76. Ξεινικοίσι δε νομαίοισι καὶ οὖτοι φεύγουσι αίνως χράσθαι, μήτε τεών άλλων, Έλληνικοίσι δὲ καὶ ήκιστα, ώς διέδεξαν 'Ανάχαρσίς τε καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ 'Ανάχαρσις έπείτε γην πολλην θεωρήσας και αποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ήθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Έλλησπόντου προσίσχει ές Κύζικου καὶ εὖρε γὰρ τῆ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς όρτην μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὕξατο τῆ μητρὶ ὁ Ανάχαρσις, ἢν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπονοστήση ἐς έωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταύτα κατά ώρα τους Κυζικηνούς ποιεύντας καί παννυχίδα στήσειν. ώς δὲ ἀπίκετο ές τὴν Σκυθικήν, καταδύς ές την καλεομένην 'Υλαίην (ή δ' έστι μεν παρά του Αχιλλήιου δρόμου, τυγχάνει δε πάσα εούσα δειδρέων παιτοίων πλέη), ές ταύ. την δη καταδύς ό 'Ανάχαρσις την όρτην ἐπετέλεε πασαν τη θεώ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος αγάλματα. και των τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθείς

BOOK IV. 75-76

on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in joy for the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for scarce ever do they wash their bodies with water. But their women grind with a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so ground they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and

shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and of Hellas in especial, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus: where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a cymbal and hanging about himself images. Then some

αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλέι Σαυλίῷ το δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν ᾿Ανάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἤν τις εἴρηται περὶ ᾿Αναχάρσιος, οὐ φασί μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ ᾿Αριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πάτρων, παίδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὧν ταύτης ἢν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ ᾿Ανάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἢν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἢν ὁ ἀποκτείνας ᾿Ανάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὀπίσω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὖτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὧν ἀνὴρ

ώσπερ πρότερον είρέθη διεφθάρη.

78. Οὖτος μέν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς όμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον Σκύλης ὁ ᾿Αριαπείθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτω. ᾿Αριαπείθεῖ γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλέι γίνεται μετ᾽ ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης ἐξ Ἰστριηνῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὖτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον

Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrsus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

77. It is true that I have heard another story told by the Pelponnesians; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a learner of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were zealous for every kind of learning, save only the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. But this is a tale vainly invented by the Greeks themselves; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.

78. Such-like, then, was the fortune that befell Anacharsis, all for his foreign usages and his companionship with Greeks; and a great many years afterwards, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria, and not nativeborn; and she taught him to speak and read Greek.

¹ In what is now the Dobrudja.

' Αριαπείθης μεν τελευτά δόλω ύπο Σπαργαπείθεος τοῦ ᾿Αγαθύρσων βασιλέος, Σκύλης δὲ τήν τε βασιληίην παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τη ούνομα ην 'Οποίη ην δε αύτη η 'Οποίη ἀστή, έξ ής ην "Όρικος 'Αριαπείθεϊ παίς. βασιλεύων δε Σκυθέων ο Σκύλης διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σκυθικῆ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ην άπὸ παιδεύσιος της ἐπεπαίδευτο, έποίες τε τοιούτο εύτε αγάγοι την στρατιήν την Σκυθέων ές το Βορυσθενεϊτέων άστυ (οί δε Βορυσθενείται ούτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτούς είναι Μιλησίους), ές τούτους όκως έλθοι ο Σκύλης, την μεν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκληίσειε, την στολην αποθέμενος την Σκυθικήν λάβεσκε αν Έλληνίδα έσθητα, έχων δ' αν ταύτην ήγόραζε ούτε δορυφόρων έπομένων ούτε άλλου ούδενός τας δε πύλας εφύλασσου, μή τίς μιν Σκυθέων ίδοι έχοντα ταύτην την στολήν· καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐχεᾶτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῆ καὶ θεοῖσι ίρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ νόμους τους Ελλήνων. ότε δε διατρίψειε μηνα ή πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς την Σκυθικήν στολήν. ταθτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις και ολκία τε έδείματο έν Βορυσθένεϊ καὶ γυναῖκα έγημε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

79. Έπείτε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχείω τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεϊτέων τῆ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρῦπες ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς

As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, whose name was Opoea, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Seythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the townsmen unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white stone; this house was

ένέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πάσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου είνεκα ήσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Έλλησι ονειδίζουσι ου γαρ φασί οίκος είναι θεον έξευρίσκειν τοῦτον όστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρωπους. έπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βοκχείω ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορνσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων " Ήμιν γάρ καταγελάτε, ὧ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει νῦν οὖτος ό δαίμων και τον υμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω." είποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστεῶτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς άναγαγών ὁ Βορυσθενείτης λάθρη ἐπὶ πύργον κατείσε. ἐπείτε δὲ παρήιε σύν τῷ θιάσω ὁ Σκύλης καὶ είδον μιν βακχεύοντα οι Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορήν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ έσήμαινον πάση τη στρατιή τὰ ἴδοιεν.

80. 'Ως δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἑωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ 'Οκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρός, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλη. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι ἢν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ 'Οκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ "Ιστρῷ ἐγένετο, ἤντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν 'Οκταμασάδην λέγων τοιάδε. "Τί δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἶς μέν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔγεις δέ μεν ἀδελφεόν. σὰ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι. στρατιῆ δὲ μήτε

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smitten by a thunderbolt and wholly destroyed by fire. But none the less for this did Scyles perform the rite to the end. Now the Scythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: "Why," said he, "you Scythians mock us for revelling and being possessed by the god; but now this deity has taken possession of your own king, so that he is revelling and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." The chief men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly and set them on a tower; whence presently, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him among the revellers; whereat being greatly moved, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: "Wherefore should we essay each other's strength? You are my sister's son, and you have with you my brother; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you; and let

σὺ κινδυνεύσης μήτ' ἐγώ.' ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας οἱ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἢν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδη ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω πεφευγώς. ὁ δὲ 'Οκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκη ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ 'Οκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα

έπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

81. Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην άτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, άλλα διαφόρους λόγους περί τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ήκουον καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλούς εἶναι σφέας και ολίγους ώς Σκύθας είναι. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ές όψιν. ἔστι μεταξύ Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Υπάνιος χώρος, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην είχον, φάμενος έν αὐτῷ κρήνην ύδατος πικρού εἶναι, ἀπ' ής τὸ ύδωρ ἀπορρέου τὸν "Υπανιν ἄποτον ποιέειν. ἐν τούτφ τῷ χώρφ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει και έξαπλήσιον του έπι στόματι του Πόντου κρητήρος, του Παυσανίης ό Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ος δὲ μη εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ώδε δηλώσω έξακοσίους αμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικον τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων έξ. τοῦτο ων έλεγον οι επιχώριοι από αρδίων γενέσθαι. βουλόμενου γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὔυομα εἶναι ᾿Αριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας άρδιν έκαneither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Seythian agreed to this, and received his brother Seyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Seyles on the spot. So closely do the Seythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, counted as Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself :- There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus. 1 To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrowheads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas. desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians. commanded every Scythian to bring him the point

¹ Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.

στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀιστοῦ ¹ κομίσαι· δς δ' αν μη κομίση, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κομισθηναί τε δη χρημα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καί οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τουτέων δή μιν τὸ χαλκήιον ποιησαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος

τοῦ Σκυθέων ήκουον.

82. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἡ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῷ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται ἄχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρη ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μέν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστί, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν

κατ' άρχὰς ήια λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον, 'Αρτάβα: ος ὁ 'Υστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐων Δαρείου, ἐχρήιζε μηδαμως αὐτὸν στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων των Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλεύων οἱ χρηστά, δ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, δ ξέ, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἄπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων.

84. Ένθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὁ δὲ

^{1 [}ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀϊστοῦ] Stein.

BOOK IV. 81-84

from an arrow, threatening all who should not so do with death. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exampaeus. Thus much I heard concerning the number

of the Scythians.

82. As for marvels, there are none in the land, save that it has rivers by far the greatest and the most numerous in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most wondrous thing for me to tell of: they show a footprint of Heracles by the river Tyras stamped on rock, like the mark of a man's foot, but two cubits in length. Having so described this I will now return to the story which I began to relate.¹

83. While Darius was making preparations 2 against the Scythians, and sending messengers to charge some to furnish an army and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, desired of him by no means to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal withal. But when he could not move the king for all his good counsel, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations being now made, led his army from Susa.

84. Then Oeobazus a Persian, who had three sons, all with the army, entreated Darius that one might be left behind. "Nay," said the king, "you

¹ In ch. 1.

² The date of Darius' expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.

ἔφη ώς φίλφ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένφ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υίέας στρατηίης ἀπολελύσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας.

85. Καὶ οὖτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη έλείποντο. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ίνα έζευκτο ή γέφυρα, ενθεύτεν εσβάς ές νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερου πλαγκτάς "Ελληνες φασί είναι, έζόμενος δέ έπὶ ρίω έθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. πελαγέων γάρ απάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος. τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ έκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῆ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς έωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εῦρος τέσσερες στάδιοι. μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος, ὁ αὐχήν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' δ δη έζευκτο ή γέφυρα, έπὶ σταδίους είκοσι καὶ έκατόν έστι. τείνει δ' ές την Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· ή δὲ Προποντίς ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοί ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον έοντα στεινότητα μεν έπτα σταδίους, μήκος τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιζοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος το δη Αίγαιον καλέεται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ώδε. νηῦς ἐπίπαν

² Herodotus is wrong. The Black Sea is 720 miles long

¹ Rocks (the "Wandering" or "Clashing" Rocks of Greek legend) off the northern end of the Bosporus.

are my friend, and your desire is but reasonable; I will leave all your sons." Oeobazus rejoiced greatly, supposing that his sons were released from service; but Darius bade those whose business it was to put all Oeobazus' sons to death.

85. So their throats were cut, and they were all left there; but Darius, when in his march from Susa he came to that place in the territory of Calchedon where the Bosporus was bridged, took ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks 1 (as they are called) which the Greeks say did formerly move upon the waters; there he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous signt. For it is of all seas the most wonderful. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs, and its breadth, at the place where it is widest, three thousand three hundred.2 The channel at the entrance of this sea is four furlongs broad; and the length of the channel, the narrow neck called Bosporus, across which the bridge was thrown, is as much as an hundred and twenty furlongs. The Bosporus reaches as far as to the Propontis; and the Propontis is five hundred furlongs wide and fourteen hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven furlongs, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont issues into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegaean.

86. These measurements have been made after

(about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus' measurement, about 270 miles broad; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much; the Bosporus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.

μάλιστα κη κατανύει έν μακρημερίη όργυιας έπτακισμυρίας, νυκτός δὲ έξακισμυρίας. ήδη ων ές μεν Φασιν άπο του στόματος (τουτο γαρ έστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατου ήμερέων ἐννέα πλόος έστὶ καὶ τυκτών ὀκτώ· αὖται ἔνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ έκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνουται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι έκατον καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι είσί. ές δε Θεμισκύρην την έπλ Θερμώδοντι ποταμώ έκ της Σινδικης (κατά τούτο γάρ έστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτών πλόος αθται δέ τρείς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα οργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μέν νυν Πόντος οὖτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ελλήσποντος ούτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὖτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ού πολλώ τεω έλάσσω έωυτου, ή Μαιήτίς τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87. 'Ο δὲ Δαρείος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν ᾿Ασσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ῆγε ῆγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ῆρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσιαι συνελέχθησαν. τῆσι μέν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν

BOOK IV. 86-87

this manner: a ship will for the most part accomplish seventy thousand fathoms in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of seven days and eight nights, the length of it will be an hundred and ten thousand and one hundred fathoms, which make eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the river Thermodon (for here is the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of two days and three nights, that is of thirty thousand and thirty fathoms, or three thousand and thirty furlongs. Thus have I measured this Pontus and the Bosporus and Hellespont, and they are such as I have said. Moreover there is seen a lake issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

87. Having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles of Samos was the chief builder; and when he had viewed the Bosporus also, he set up by it two pillars of white stone, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army; in which were all the nations subject to him. The full tale of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, reckoning therewith horsemen, and the number of ships that mustered was six hundred. These pillars were afterwards carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian 1

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¹ A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.

βωμον της 'Ορθωσίης 'Αρτέμιδος, χωρίς ένος λίθου οὖτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίω, γραμμάτων 'Ασσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔζευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένω, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι

ίροῦ.

88. Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῆ σχεδίη τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ζῷα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρείον ἐν προεδρίη κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ "Ηραιον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε.

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλέης Ήρη μνημόσυνον σχεδίης, αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος, Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο· Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἰωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἡγον Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυῶν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ

BOOK IV. 87-89

Artemis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosporus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

88. After this, Darius, being well content with his bridge of boats, made to Mandroeles the Samian a gift of ten of every kind; wherefrom Mandroeles took the firstfruits and therewith had a picture made showing the whole bridge of the Bosporus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; this he set up in the temple of Here, with this inscription:

"This Picture Mandrocles to Here gives,
Whereby for ever his Achievement lives;
A Bridge of Boats o'er Bosp'rus' fishful Flood
He built; Darius saw, and judg'd it good;
Thus for himself won Mandrocles a Crown,
And for his isle of Samos high Renown."

89. This then was done to preserve the name of the builder of the bridge. Darius, having rewarded Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had bidden the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the river Ister, and when they should come thither to wait for him there, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and made sail straight for the Ister, and, having gone a two days' voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel

¹ Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; cp. a similar phrase in ix. 81.

σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐζεύγνυε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τεάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύ-

σατο ήμέρας τρείς.

90. 'Ο δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι, καὶ αὶ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αὶ δὲ θερμαί. όδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθω καὶ ἐξ ᾿Απολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνω πόντω, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρη. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὖτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν ᾿Αγριάνην, ὁ δὲ ᾿Αγριάνης ἐς τὸν "Εβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνω πόλι.

91. Έπὶ τοῦτον ὧν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. "Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ 'Υστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς.'' ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

92. Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ' ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα ᾿Αρτησκός ἐστι, δς διὰ ᾿Οδρυσέων ρέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιὑνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῆ

of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosporus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

- 90. The Tearus is said in the country round to be the best of all rivers for all purposes of healing, but especially for the healing of the scab in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. There are two roads to the place, one from the town of Heraeum near to Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days' journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the river Contadesdus, and that of the Agrianes, and that again of the Hebrus, which issues into the sea near the city of Aenus.
- 91. Having then come to this river and there encamped, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, graven with this inscription, "From the sources of the river Tearus flows the best and fairest of all river waters; hither came, leading his army against the Scythians, the best and fairest of all men, even Darius son of Hystaspes and king of Persia and all the mainland." Such was the inscription.
- 92. Thence Darius set forth and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; whither having come, he marked a place for the army to see, and bade every

στρατιή ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἕνα παρεξιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ώς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπήλαυνε

την στρατιήν.

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αίρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ ᾿Απολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείω οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηιότατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι.

94. 'Αθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον' οὔτε άποθνήσκειν έωυτούς νομίζουσι ίέναι τε τον άπολλύμενον παρά Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελέιζιν διὰ πεντετηρίδος τε τον πάλω λαχόντα αιεί σφέων αὐτῶν άποπέμπουσι άγγελον παρά τον Σάλμοξιν, έντελλόμενοι των αν έκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δέ ώξε· οὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, άλλοι δε διαλαβόντες του άποπεμπομένου παρά τον Σάλμοξιν τὰς χείρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αύτον μετέωρον ρίπτουσι ές τὰς λόγχας. ην μεν δη αποθάνη αναπαρείς, τοίσι δε ίλεος ό θεος δοκέει είναι ην δε μη αποθάνη, αιτιώνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν είναι, αίτιησάμενοι δε τούτον άλλον άποπέμπουσι έντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζώντι. οὖτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βρουτήν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες

man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first subdued the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaei, surrendered themselves unresisting to Darius; but the Getae, who are the bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians, resisted with obstinacy, and were enslaved forthwith.

94. As to their claim to be immortal, this is how they show it: they believe that they do not die, but that he who perishes goes to the god Salmoxis, or Gebeleïzis, as some of them call him. Once in every five years they choose by lot one of their people and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis. charged to tell of their needs; and this is their manner of sending: Three lances are held by men thereto appointed; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and hurl him aloft on to the spear-points. If he be killed by the cast, they believe that the god regards them with favour; but if he be not killed, they blame the messenger himself, deeming him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him whom they blame. It is while the man yet lives that they charge him with the message. Moreover when there is thunder and lightning these same

ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἶ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

95. 'Ως δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσπουτου οίκεόντων Έλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμφ, δουλευσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μνησάρχου, ένθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς την έωυτου. άτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τον Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαιτάν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ήθεα βαθύτερα ή κατά Θρήικας, οία Έλλησί τε όμιλήσαντα καὶ Έλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτω σοφιστή Πυθαγόρη, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεώνα, ές τὸν πανδοκεύοντα των άστων τούς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ώς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οί συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι άποθανέονται, άλλ' ήξουσι ές χώρον τοῦτον ίνα αίεὶ περιεόντες έξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν ὁ δὲ έποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτω κατάγαιον οίκημα ἐποιέετο. ώς δέ οί παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἴκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ήφανίσθη, καταβάς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οίκημα διαιτάτο έπ' έτεα τρία οι δέ μιν έπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ώς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτω δὲ έτεϊ εφάνη τοισι Θρήιξι, και ούτω πιθανά σφι έγένετο τὰ έλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασί μιν ποιησαι.

96. Έγω δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὕτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ῶν πιστεύω
τι λίην, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν
Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε δὲ

Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the

god, believing in no other god but their own.

95. For myself, I have been told by the Greeks who dwell beside the Hellespont and Pontus that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; presently, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a meanly-living and simplewitted folk, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian usages and a fuller way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; wherefore he made himself a hall, where he entertained and feasted the chief among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was all the while making him an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and descended into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, the Thracians wishing him back and mourning him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called

έγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων

τις Γέτησι ούτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω.

97. Ο ὑτοι μεν δη τρόπφ τοιούτφ χρεώμενοι ώς εχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἵποντο τῷ ἄλλφ στρατώ. Δαρείος δὲ ώς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἄμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν "Ιστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρείος ἐκέλευσε τούς τε Ίωνας την σχεδίην λύσαντας έπεσθαι κατ' ήπειρον έωυτώ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν 'Ιώνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κώης ό Έρξανδρου στρατηγός έων Μυτιληναίων έλεξε Δαρείω τάδε, πυθομενος πρότερον εἴ οἱ φίλον εἴη γιώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρά τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκυυσθαι. " Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένον φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη· σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύ-την ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἵπερ μιν ἔζευξαν. καὶ ἤν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν εύροντες Σκύθας, έστι άποδος ήμιν, ήν τε καὶ μή σφεας εύρειν δυνώμεθα, ή γε ἄποδος ήμιν ἀσφαλής οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἑσσωθέωμεν ύπο Σκυθέων μάχη, άλλα μαλλον μη οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας ευρείν πάθωμέν τι άλώμενοι. καί τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις άν με έμεωυτοῦ είνεκεν, ώς καταμένω έγω δε γνώμην μεν την εύρισκον άρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι έψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθείην." κάρτα τε ήσθη τη γνώμη Δαρείος καί μιν αμείψατο τοίσιδε. " Ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν έμον ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίης χρηστοίσι έργοισι αμείψωμαι.

98. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἄμματα έξή-

Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a

god of their country, I have done with him.

97. Such were the ways of the Getae, who were now subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he bade the Ionians break the bridge and follow him and the men of the fleet in their march across the mainland. So the Ionians were preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' behest; but Cöes son of Erxander, the general of the Mytilenaeans, having first enquired if Darius were willing to receive counsel from any man desiring to give it, said, "Seeing, O king! that you are about to march against a country where you will find neither tilled lands nor inhabited cities, do you now suffer this bridge to stand where it is, leaving those who made it to be its guards. Thus, if we find the Scythians and accomplish our will, we have a way of return; and even if we find them not, yet at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never yet been lest we be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather lest we should not be able to find them, and so wander astray to our hurt. Now perchance it may be said that I speak thus for my own sake, because I desire to remain behind; but it is not so; I do but declare before all that counsel which I judge best, and for myself would not be left here but will follow you." With this counsel Darius was greatly pleased, and he answered Cöes thus; "My good Lesbian, fail not to show yourself to me when I return safe to my house, that so I may make you a good return for your good advice."

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a

κοντα ἐν ἱμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. " Ανδρες Ἰωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε ποιέετε τάδε· ἐπεὰν ἐμὲ ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἄμμα εν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἡν δὲ ἐν τούτφ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αὶ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίης τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε." Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα

είπας ές το πρόσω έπείγετο.

99. Της δὲ Σκυθικης γης η Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου της γης ταύτης, η Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτης της Σκυθικης χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρου αὕτη ήδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινήν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ἰανρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου της τρηχέης καλεομένης αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικης τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὔρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τήν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ηῶ, κατά περ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς χώρης καὶ παραπλήσια

thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "lonians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Scythians, and loose one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and where a bay is formed in its coast, Scythia begins, and the mouth of the Ister, which faces to the south-east, is in that country. Now I will describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. At the Ister begins the ancient Scythian land, which lies facing the south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea. For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and

¹ Here = the Sea of Azov.

ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ ᾿Αθηναῖοι νεμοἰατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ¹ ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι ᾿Αναφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ ὡς εἰναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρική ἐστι. ὡς δὲ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρική.

100. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἤδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, δς ἐκδιδοῦ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἤδη ὧν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων ᾿Αγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ ᾿Ανδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

101. "Εστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἐούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν,
πάντη ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ
παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυ-

¹ την ἄκρην is bracketed by Stein, ἀνέχειν being generally (in the required sense) intransitive.

BOOK IV. 99-101

the Tauri dwelling as they do in a part of Scythia which is like Attica, it is as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the township of Anaphlystus, did Sunium but jut farther out into the sea. I say this in so far as one may compare small things with great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not coasted along that part of Attica may understand from this other way of showing: it is as though in Iapygia some other people, not Iapygian, were to dwell on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brentesium to Taras. Of these two countries I speak, but there are many others of a like kind which Tauris resembles.

100. Beyond the Tauric country the Scythians begin, dwelling north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, westward of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the river Tanais, which issues into the end of that lake. Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, which runs from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks.

101. Scythia, then, being a four-sided country, whereof two sides are sea-board, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea make it a perfect square; for it is a ten days' journey from the

¹ All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the southeastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the "heel" of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Seythia yet are not Seythiaus, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.

σθένεα δέκα ήμερέων όδός, ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεός τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῆτιν ἑτερέων δέκα καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οἰκημένους εἰκοσι ἡμερέων όδὸς. ἡ δὲ όδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληταί μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὅρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἐτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μέν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102. Οί δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ώς οὐκ οἶοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίη διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἣσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ ᾿Αγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ ᾿Ανδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ

Σαυροματέων.

103. Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῆ Παρθένω τούς τε ναυηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπω τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι ροπάλω παίουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ώς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ἀθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἴδρυται τὸ ἱρόν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ἀθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῆ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἤγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμὼν ἕκα-

BOOK IV. 101-103

Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

- 102. The Scythians, reckoning that they were not able by themselves to repel Darius' army in open warfare, sent messengers to their neighbours, whose kings had already met and were taking counsel, as knowing that a great army was marching against them. Those that had so met were the kings of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Maneaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae.
- 103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess¹ as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff whereon their temple stands, and impale the head; others agree with this as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff. This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri themselves to be Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. As for the enemies whom they overcome, each man cuts off

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¹ A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.

στος 1 κεφαλην ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἱστὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσαν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληίης τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. 'Αγάθυρσοι δὲ άβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκήιοι ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνφ μήτε ἔχθεϊ χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα

νόμαια Θρήιξι προσκεχωρήκασι.

105. Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῆ δὲ μιῆ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὁ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἄπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἔκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τῶυτὸ κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μέν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἡσσον, καὶ ὀμνῦσι δὲ λέγοντες.

106. 'Ανδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἤθεα, οὕτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὕτε νόμω οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι νομάδες δὲ εἰσί, ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τῆ Σκυθικῆ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην,

ανδροφαγέουσι δε μοῦνοι τούτων.

¹ [ἕκαστος] Stein.

BOOK IV. 103-106

his enemy's head and carries it away to his house, where he impales it on a tall pole and sets it standing high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set aloft to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by

plundering and war.

104. The Agathyrsi live more delicately than all other men, and are greatly given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiseuous, that so they may be brothers and kinsfolk to each other and thus neither envy nor hate their fellows. In the rest of their customs they are like to the Thracians.

105. The Neuri follow Scythian usages; but one generation before the coming of Darius' army it fell out that they were driven from their country by snakes; for their land brought forth great numbers of these, and yet more came down upon them out of the desert, till at last the Neuri were so hard pressed that they left their own country and dwelt among the Budini. It may be that they are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days returns again to his former shape. For myself, I cannot believe this tale; but they tell it nevertheless, yea, and swear to its truth.

106. The Man-eaters are of all men the most savage in their manner of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; they are the only people of all these that eat

men.

107. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ είματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας

έχουσι, νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

108. Βουδίνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐὸν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστι καὶ πυρρόν. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὕνομα δὲ τῆ πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνός τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἕκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστί, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἰρά. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἰρὰ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῷ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι καὶ γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ χρέωνται. Βουδίνοι δὲ οὐ τῆ αὐτῆ γλώσση χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἡ αὐτή.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρη σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα ἴδησι παντοίησι ἐν δὲ τἢ ἴδη τῆ πλείστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλὴ καὶ ἕλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτη ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες αὐ-

τοίσι είσὶ χρήσιμοι ές ύστερέων ἄκεσιν.

110. Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὧδε λέγεται. ὅτε

BOOK IV. 107-110

107. The Black-cloaks all wear black raiment, whence they take their name; their usages are

Scythian.

108. The Budini are a great and numerous nation; the eyes of all of them are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines; and they honour Dionysus every three years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109. The Budini are native to the soil; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are tillers of the soil, eating grain and possessing gardens; they are wholly unlike the Budini in form and in complexion. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. All their country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forests there is a great and wide lake and marsh surrounded by reeds; otters are caught in it, and beavers, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins serve for the trimming of mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal hysteric sicknesses.

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will

Έλληνες 'Αμαζόσι έμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ 'Αμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οιόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Έλλάδα γλώσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι οίὸρ γάρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τους Έλληνας νικήσαντας τη έπὶ Θερμώδουτι μάχη ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισί πλοίοισι των 'Αμαζόνων όσας έδυνέατο ζωγρήσαι, τὰς δ έν τῶ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοία δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρασθαι οὐδὲ ίστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίη· άλλ' ἐπεὶ έξεκοψαν τους ἄνδρας εφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ άνεμου, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος έπὶ Κρημνούς οί δὲ Κρημνοί είσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων των έλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. εντυχουσαι δε πρώτω ίπποφορβίω τούτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἱππαζόμεναι έληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

111. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὕτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὕτε ἐσθῆτα οὕτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποι-εῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγιωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας. βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἑωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιέειν τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι· ἢν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μή, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας

BOOK IV. 110-111

now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is oior, and to kill is pata) after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and threw them overboard. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men being thrown overboard they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country. But at the beginning of their journey they found a place where horses were reared; and carrying these horses away they raided the Scythian lands on horseback.

111. The Scythians could not understand the matter; for they knew not the women's speech nor their dress nor their nation, but wondered whence they had come, and supposed them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The end of the fight was, that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to know that their foes were women. Wherefore taking counsel they resolved by no means to slay them as heretofore, but to send to them their youngest men, of a number answering (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They bade these youths encamp near to the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, then not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit ceased, to

αθτις πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταθτα έβουλεύσαντο οί Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι έξ αθτέων παθδας έκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι

έποίευν τὰ έντεταλμένα.

112. Έπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες ἐπ᾽ οὐδεμιῆ δηλήσι ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρω τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδω ἐπ᾽ ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ζοην ἔζωον τὴν αὐ-

την ἐκείνησι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληιζόμενοι.

113. Ἐποίευν δὲ αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε· έγίνοντο σποράδες κατά μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δη ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρείην άποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι έποίευν τώυτὸ τοῦτο. καί τις μουνωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ ᾿Αμαζων οὐκ ἀπωθέετο άλλα περιείδε χρήσασθαι. και φωνήσαι μεν ούκ είχε, ού γαρ συνίεσαν άλλήλων, τη δέ γειρί έφραζε ές την ύστεραίην έλθειν ές τωύτὸ χωρίον καὶ έτερον άγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτέρην ἀξειν. ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπηλθε, έλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς τη δὲ δευτεραίη ήλθε ές το χωρίον αὐτός τε οὖτος καὶ έτερον ήγε, καὶ τὴν 'Αμαζόνα εὖρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ύπομένουσαν. οί δε λοιποί νεηνίσκοι ώς επύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν 'Αμαζόνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμίξαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον όμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῆ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ

BOOK IV. 111-114

come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

112. When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the

women, by hunting and plunder.

113. At midday the Amazons would scatter and go singly or in pairs away from each other, roaming thus apart for greater comfort. The Scythians marked this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman made no resistance but suffered him to do his will; and since they understood not each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with the hand that he should come on the next day to the same place bringing another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting him. When the rest of the young men learnt of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the

των ἀνδρων αί γυναίκες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήκαν άλλήλων, έλεξαν πρὸς τὰς 'Αμαζόνας τάδε οι ἄνδρες. "Ήμιν είσι μεν τοκέες, είσι δέ κτήσιες νῦν ὧν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζόην τοιήνδε έχωμεν, άλλ' ἀπελθόντες ές τὸ πλήθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναῖκας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας." αὶ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε. " Πμείς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ των ύμετερέων γυναικών ού γάρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαια ήμιν τε κακείνησι έστί. ήμεις μεν τοξεύομέν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἱππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικήια οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αί δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μέν ούδεν των ήμεις κατελέξαμεν ποιεύσι, έργα δὲ γυναικήια ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῆσι άμάξησι, οὔτ' ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῆ. ούκ αν ων δυναίμεθα εκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. άλλ' εὶ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας έχειν ήμέας καὶ δοκέειν είναι δίκαιοι, έλθόντες παρά τους τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν." ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.

115. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἡλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς 'Αμαζόνας, έλεξαν αί γυναίκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. "Ήμέας έχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅκως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δηλησαμένας πολλά. άλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε άμα ήμιν φέρετε έξαναστέωμεν έκ της γης τησδε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναϊν ποταμον οἰκέωμεν."

116. Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, δια-

BOOK IV. 114-116

women mastered the speech of the men; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, "We have parents and possessions; now therefore let us no longer live as we do, but return to the multitude of our people and consort with them; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied: "Nav, we could not dwell with your women; for we and they have not the same customs. We shoot with the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but the crafts of women we have never learned; and your women do none of the things whereof we speak, but abide in their waggons working at women's crafts, and never go abroad a-hunting or for aught else. We and they therefore could never agree. Nay, if you desire to keep us for wives and to have the name of just men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and dwell by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this.

115. So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions which fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them: "We are in fear and dread, to think how we should dwell in this country; seeing that not only have we bereaved you of your parents, but we have done much hurt to your land. Nay, since you think right to have us for wives, let us all together, we and you, remove out of this country and dwell across the river Tanais."

116. To this too the youths consented; and crossing

βάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν ὁδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοίκηνται, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῆ παλαιῆ τῶν Σαυροματέων αὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ᾽ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἄμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι.

117. Φωνή δε οί Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθική, σολοικίζοντες αὐτή ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνη αὶ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλησαι.

118. Έπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας άλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἐν τῆ ἢπείρῳ τῆ ἑτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἤπειρον, διαβὰς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῦ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ᾽ ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. "Υμεῖς ὧν μηδενὶ τρόπῷ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιίδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τὧυτὸ νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὕκων ποιήσετε ταῦτα ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἡ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώρην ἡ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῷ ἔσται ἐλα-

BOOK IV. 116-118

the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards, and a three days' journey from the Maeetian lake northwards; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

117. The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, seeing that the Amazons never rightly learnt it. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no virgin weds till she has slain a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law.

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosporus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no

φρότερον ήκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἡ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένω ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἰέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἤπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδών γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας τούς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ

τους ήμιν έοντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας."

119. Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύουτο οί βασιλέες οί ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ήκουτες, καί σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αί γνῶμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδίνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τώυτὸ γενόμενοι ύπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν, ο δὲ 'Αγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρός καὶ 'Ανδροφάγος καὶ οί των Μελαγχλαίνων και Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ύπεκρίναντο. "Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι των νύν δέεσθε λέγειν τε αν έφαίνεσθε ήμιν όρθά, καὶ ήμεις ύπακούσαντες τωυτὸ αν ύμιν ἐπρήσσομεν. νῦν δὲ ύμεις τε ές την εκείνων εσβαλόντες γην άνευ ημέων επεκρατίετε Περσέων όσον χρόνον ίμιν ό θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ ἐκείνοι, ἐπεί σφεας ώυτὸς θεὸς έγείρει, την όμοιην ύμιν αποδιδούσι. ήμεις δέ ούτε τι τότε ήδικήσαμεν τούς άι δρας τούτους οὐδεν ούτε νθν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα άδικέειν. ήν μέντοι ἐπίη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἄρξη τε άδικέων,

BOOK IV. 118-119

light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has subdued us will he be content to leave you alone. We can give you full proof of what we say: were it we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country, it is certain that he would leave others alone and make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now, from the day of his crossing over to this continent, he has been ever taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae."

119. Such being the message of the Scythians, the kings who had come from their nations took counsel, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae made common cause and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Maneaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri made this answer to the messengers: "Had it not been you who did unprovoked wrong to the Persians and so began the war, this request that you proffer would seem to us right, and we would consent and act jointly with you. But now, you and not we invaded their land and held it for such time as the god permitted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are but requiting you in like manner. But we did these men no wrong in that former time, nor will we essay to harm them now unprovoked; natheless if the Persian come against our land too and do the first act of

καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἡκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς

άδικίης γενομένους."

120. Ταθτα ώς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οί Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δή σφι οὖτοί γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ύπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίοιεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς έκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ην έπι τούτο τράπηται ο Πέρσης, ίθυ Τανάιδος ποταμού παρά την Μαιήτιν λίμνην ύποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αύτη μέν σφι μία ἢν μοῖρα τῆς βασιληίης, τεταγμένη ταύτην την όδον ή περ είρηται. τας δε δύο των βασιληίων, τήν τε μεγάλην της ηρχε 'Ιδάνθυρσος καὶ την τρίτην της έβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθούσας ές τωυτό καὶ Γελωνών τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ήμέρης καὶ τούτους όδφ προέχοντας των Περσέων ύπεξάγειν, ύπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεύντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρώτα μέν νυν ύπάγειν σφέας ίθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων την σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ίνα καὶ τούτους έκπολεμώσωσι εί γὰρ μη ξκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τον πολεμον τον προς Πέρσας, άλλ' άξκοντας έκπολεμώσειν μετά δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἡν δὴ βουλευομένοισι δοκέη.

¹ πεισόμεθα MSS.; Stein prefers κεισόμεθα, "lie inactive."

BOOK IV. 119-120

wrong, then we two will not consent to it; but till we see that, we will abide where we are by ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians are attacking not us but those at whose door the offence lies."

120. This answer being brought back and made known to the Scythians, they resolved not to meet their enemy in the open field, seeing that they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to withdraw and drive off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and rooting up the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their will that to one of their divisions, over which Scopasis was king, the Sauromatae should be added; this host should, if the Persian marched that way, retire before him and draw off towards the river Tanais, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to depart then they should attack and pursue him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow the way aforesaid; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whereof the ruler was Idanthyrsus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking to them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, ever keeping one day's march in front of the enemy, avoiding a meeting and doing what had been resolved. First, then, they must retreat in a straight course towards the countries which refused their alliance, so that these too might be compelled to fight; for if they would not of their own accord enter the lists against the Persians, they must be driven to war willy-nilly; and after that, the host must turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in debate this should seem good.

121. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηντίαξον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας
ἐν τῆσί σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς
φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα
ἄμα τῆσι ἀμάξησι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ

τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐλαύνειν.

122. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο· τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὖρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου, οὖτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήισαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων· καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἰθὺ Τανάιδος· διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὃ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123. "Οσον μεν δη χρόνον οι Πέρσαι ήισαν διὰ της Σκυθικης καὶ της Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οὶ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἄτε της χώρης ἐούσης χέρσου ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς την τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δη ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότων τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἴποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς ὁ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης ἐοῦσα πληθος

BOOK IV. 121-123

- 121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.
- 122. This convoy being first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they encamped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about clearing the land of all growing things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appearing, they marched on in its tracks, the horsemen ever withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit towards the east and the river Tanais; which when the horsemen had crossed the Persians crossed also, and pursued till they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini.
- 123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its

έπτὰ ἡμερέων όδοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα

κέεται τάδε, Λύκος "Οαρος Τάναϊς Σύργις.

124. Ἐπεὶ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἣλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἴδρυσε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ 'Οάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἑξήκοντα μάλιστά κη· τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σόα ἢν. ἐν ῷ δὲ οὖτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετῆκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἤιε πρὸς ἑσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας

είναι καὶ πρὸς έσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125. Έλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ώς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρησι τῆσι μοίρησι τῶν Σκυθέων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἵ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν ᾿Ανδρο ἡάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ και τούτων ἤισαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς ᾿Αγαθύρσους. ᾿Αγαθύρσοι δὲ ὁρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυ-

BOOK IV. 123-125

breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Macetians, and issue into the lake called the Macetian; their

names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

124. When Darius came into the desert, he halted in his race and encamped on the river Oarus, where he built eight great forts, all at an equal distance of about sixty furlongs from each other, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime. While he was busied with these, the Scythians whom he pursued fetched a compass northwards and turned back into Scythia. When they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius then left those forts but half finished, and he too turned about and marched westward, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing towards the west.

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met both the divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,

θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἤ σφι ἐμβαλεῖι τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευοι Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὔρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. ᾿Αγάθυρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ ᾿Ανδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἄμα Σκύθησι οὕτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοί τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς ᾿Αγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

126. 'Ως δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. "Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεί, ἐξεόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἔτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκεαι εἶναι ήσσων, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων

γην τε καὶ ύδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους."

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. "Οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὧ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὕτε πρότερον οὕτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμὶ ποιήσας νῦν ἡ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαί τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῦν οὕτε ἄστεα οὕτε γἡ πεφυτευμένη ἐστί, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλῷ ἡ

BOOK IV. 125-127

before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

126. All this continuing long, and there being no end to it, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthyrsus the Scythian king, with this message: "Sir, these are strange doings. Why will you ever flee? You can choose which of two things you will do: if you deem yourself strong enough to withstand my power, wander no further, but stand and fight; but if you know yourself to be the weaker, then make an end of this running to and fro, and come to terms with your master, sending him gifts of earth and water."

127. To this Idanthyrsus the Scythian king made answer: "Know this of me, Persian, that I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner

καρή ταχύτερον αν ύμιν συμμίσγοιμεν ες μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ες τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέ-εσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμιν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειρασθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμιν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δέ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρέη, οὐ συμμίξομέν τοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχη τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότας δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἱστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μούνους εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἶα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν

λέγω." τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις.1

128. Ό μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκες ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείω, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὔνομα ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ῆρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι "Ιωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοισι οῖ τὸν "Ιστρον ἐζευγμένον ἐφρούρεον αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὧν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίευν τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππόται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζὸν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

¹ This sentence is bracketed by Stein, but there seems to be no conclusive reason for rejecting it.

BOOK IV. 127-128

in battle, fearing lest the one be taken or the other be wasted. But if nothing will serve you but fighting straightway, we have the graves of our fathers; come, find these and essay to destroy them; then shall you know whether we will fight you for those graves or no. Till then we will not join battle unless we think good. Thus much I say of fighting; for my masters, I hold them to be Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians, and none other. Gifts I will send you, not earth and water, but such as you should rightly receive; and for your boast that you are my master, take my malison for it." This was the speech returned by the Scythians.

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of Scythians and Sauromatae, which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Seythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Sevthian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.

129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησί τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοίσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξοον ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδω, θώμα μέγιστον έρέω, των τε όνων ή φωνή καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον ούτε ημίονον γη ή Σκυθική φέρει, ώς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ πάση χώρη τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ύβρίζοντες ὧν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων έπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξύ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἱστάντες τὰ ὧτα, άτε ούτε ακούσαντες πρότερον φωνής τοιαύτης ούτε ίδόντες τὸ είδος.

130. Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ίδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ίνα παραμένοιέν τε έπλ πλέω χρόνον έν τη Σκυθική και παραμένοντες ανιφατο των πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἐόντες, ἐποίεον τοιάδε· ὄκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετά των νομέων, αὐτοὶ ὰν ὑπεξήλαυνον ές ἄλλον χῶρον οί δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες

έπηείροντο αν τώ πεποιημένω.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρείος τε έν ἀπορίησι είχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλέες μαθύντες τοῦτο ἔπεμπον κήρυκα δώρα Δαρείφ φέροντα ὄρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ ὀιστούς πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δώρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἡ δύντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας

129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the most of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they waxed wanton, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

130. This then played some small part in the war. When the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan whereby they might remain longer in Scythia and so remaining might be distressed by lack of all things needful: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, themselves moving away to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be uplifted by this achievement.

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary; which when they perceived, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let

έκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί εἰσι, γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα

λέγειν.

132. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μέν νυν ή γνώμη ην Σκύθας έωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τηδε, ώς μῦς μὲν ἐν γη γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπω σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὅρνις δε μάλιστα έοικε ίππω, τους δε διστούς ώς την έωυτων άλκην παραδιδούσι. αύτη μεν Δαρείω άπεδέδεκτο ή γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτη τῆ γνώμη ή Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν "Ην μη δρυιθες γενόμενοι αναπτήσθε ές τον ουρανόν, & Πέρσαι, η μύες γενόμενοι κατά της γης καταδύητε, η βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ές τας λίμνας έσπηδησητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ

τωνδε των τυξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι."

133. Πέρσαι μεν δή τὰ δώρα εἴκαζου. ή δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοίρα ή ταχθείσα πρότερον μεν παρά την Μαιήτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τον Ίστρον Ίωσι ές λόγους έλθεῖν, ώς απίκετο έπι την γέφυραν, έλεγε τάδε. "'Ανδρες "Ιωνες, έλευθερίην ήκομεν ύμιν φέροντες, ήν πέρ γε έθέλητε έσακούε.ν. πυνθανόμεθα γάρ Δαρείον έντείλασθαι ύμιν έξήκοντα ήμέρας μούνας Φρουρήσαντας την γέφυραν, αύτοῦ μη παραγενομένου έν τούτω τῶ χρόνω, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. νθν ων ύμεις τάδε ποιεθντες έκτος μεν έσεσθε προς έκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων τὰς προκειμένας ήμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε." οὖτοι μέν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰωνων ποιήσειν ταθτα όπίσω την ταχίστην έπείγοντο.

the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough,

discover the signification of the presents.

132. The Persians hearing and taking counsel, Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering to him themselves and their earth and their water; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water, and a bird most like to a horse; and the arrows (said he) signified that the Scythians surrendered their weapon of battle. This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magian, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, "Unless you become birds, Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide you in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home."

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, "Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart." So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.

134. Πέρσησι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρείω αντετάχθησαν οι ύπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζώ καὶ ίπποισι ώς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δε τοίσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ές τὸ μέσον διήιξε των δὲ ώς έκαστοι ώρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῆ χρεωμένων, εἴρετο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον πυθό-μενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τούς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν "Οὖτοι ώνδρες ήμέων πολλον καταφρονέουσι, καί μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἶπαι περί τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων όρθως. ως ων ούτω ήδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι έχειν, βουλής ἀγαθής δεῖ, ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω." πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύης εἶπε "Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἠπιστάμην τούτων των ανδρών την απορίην, έλθων δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ήμιν. νθν ων μοι δοκέει, έπεαν τάχιστα νθξ έπέλθη, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιέειν, τών στρατιωτέων τους άσθενεστάτους ές τάς ταλαιπωρίας έξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ή καί τι Ίωσι δόξαι τὸ ήμέας οἶόν τε έσται έξεργάσασθαι."

135. Γοβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῆ γνώμη ταύτη τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἢν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω. κατέλιπε δὲ τούς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι

134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason showed me well enough how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; and when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were weary, and those whose loss imported least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they

βοην παρέχωνται· οι δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενείης μὲν είνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδή, ώς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὖτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ρυοίατο. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολελειμμένοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἵεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

136. Ήμέρης δε γενομένης γνόντες οι ύπολειφθέντες ώς προδεδομένοι είεν υπό Δαρείου, χειράς τε προετείνοντο τοίσι Σκύθησι και έλεγον τά κατήκοντα οἱ δὲ ὡς ήκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αί τε δύο μοίραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ή μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδίνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, έδίωκον τους Πέρσας ίθυ τοῦ Ίστρου. ἄτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς όδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ώστε οὐ τετμημενέων τῶν όδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἰππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς όδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἁμαρτόντες άλλήλων, έφθησαν πολλώ οι Σκύθαι τους Πέρσας έπὶ την γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ούκω άπιγμένους έλεγον πρός τους "Ιωνας έόντας έν τησι νηυσί ""Ανδρες "Ιωνες, αί τε ήμέραι ύμιν του άριθμου διοίχηνται και ού ποιέετε δίκαια έτι παραμένοντες. άλλ' έπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες εμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον την ταχίστην άπιτε χαίροντες έλεύθεροι, θεοισί τε και Σκύθησι είδοτες χάριν. τον δὲ πρότερον έόντα ύμέων δεσπότην ήμεις παραστησόμεθα

might bray; as to the men, they were left by reason of their infirmity, but his pretext was, forsooth, that they should guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the sound part of his army. Giving this charge to those who were left behind, and lighting camp-fires, Darius made all speed to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed much the louder for that; and the Scythians by hearing them were fully persuaded that the Persians were still in the

same place.

136. But when day dawned the men left behind perceived that Darius had played them false, and they held out their hands to the Scythians and told them the truth; who, when they heard, gathered their power with all speed, both the two divisions of their host and the one division that was with the Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. But seeing that the Persian army was for the most part of footmen and knew not the roads (these not being marked), whereas the Scythians were horsemen and knew the short cuts, they kept wide of each other, and the Scythians came to the bridge much before the Persians. There, perceiving that the Persians were not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who were in their ships, "Now, Ionians, the numbered days are past and you do wrongly to remain still here. Nay-for it is fear which has ere now kept you from departing-now break the bridge with all speed and go your ways in freedom and happiness, thanking the gods and the Scythians. As for him that was once your master, we will leave him in such

ούτω ώστε έπὶ μηδαμούς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν

στρατεύσασθαι."

137. Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντω, ἢν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, Ἱστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῆ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταιρεθείσης οὕτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἰός τε ἔσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὕτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολίων δημοκρατέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἱστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἢσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αίρεόμενοι.

138. Ἡσαν δὲ οὖτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἐόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε ᾿Αβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἱπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ ᾿Αρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ ᾿Αρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὖτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράττις τε Χίος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαιεὺς καὶ Ἱστιαίος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ῆν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῷ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μοῦνος ᾿Αρισταγόρης

Κυμαίος.

139. Οὖτοι ὧν ἐπείτε τὴν Ἱστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξέ σφι πρὸς ταύτη τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέ-

BOOK IV. 136-139

plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

137. Thereupon the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and despot of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, gave counsel that they should do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. But Histiaeus of Miletus held a contrary opinion. "Now," said he, "it is by help of Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power be overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, neither I in Miletus nor any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." When Histiaeus declared this opinion, all of them straightway inclined to it, albeit they had first sided with Miltiades.

138. Those standing high in Darius' favour who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, all from the Hellespont and despots of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae.

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus' counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might

εται, ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἱστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἡδονῆ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῆ γνώμη μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἱστιαῖος τάδε λέγων. "Ανδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε καὶ τά τε ἀπ ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται καὶ τὰ ἀπ ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὡς γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν ῷ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίζησθαι ἐκείνους, εἰρόντας δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὡς κείνους

πρέπει.

140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτη διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μέν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τῆ χιλός τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ῆν, ταύτη διεξιόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἑωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤισαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὖρον τὸν πόρον. οἶα δὲ νυκτός τε

BOOK IV. 139-140

seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have brought us good, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

140. So the Scythians trusted the Ionians' word once more, and turned back to seek the Persians; but they mistook the whole way whereby their enemies passed. For this the Scythians themselves were to blame, inasmuch as they had destroyed the horses' grazing-grounds in that region and choked the wells. Had they not so done, they could readily have found the Persians if they would. as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their illsuccess. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was provender for horses and water. supposing that they too were aiming at such places in their flight; but the Persians ever kept to their own former tracks, and so with much ado they found the passage of the river. But inasmuch as they

ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης της γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκοντο μή σφεας οἰ

Ίωνες έωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

141. Ἡν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἱστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἱστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τάς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔζευξε.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν ὧν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι. Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ήμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐόντας Ἰωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων ἐόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

Σκύθησι ές "Ιωνας απέρριπται.

143. Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρείος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἴπας ἐν Πέρσησι ἔπος. ὁρμημένου Δαρείου ροιὰς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ροιέων, εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ᾿Αρτάβανος ὅ τι βούλοιτ ἄν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῆ ροιῆ κόκκοι· Δαρείος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους ἄν οἱ τοσούτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι ταῦτά μιν εἴπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν

came to it at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great terror lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

- 141. There was with Darius an Egyptian, whose voice was the loudest in the world; Darius bade this man stand on the Ister bank and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and obeyed the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and made the bridge anew.
- 142. Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are free men they are the basest cravens in the world; but if they are to be reckoned as slaves, none would love their masters more, or less desire to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.
- 143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; thence he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving as his general in Europe Megabazus, a Persian, to whom he once did honour by saying among Persians what I here set down. Darius was about to eat pomegranates; and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him of what thing he would wish to have as many as there were seeds in his pomegranate; whereupon Darius said, that he would rather have that number of men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By thus speaking among Persians the king did honour to Megabazus; and

ύπελιπε στρατηγόν έχοντα της στρατιής τής

έωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.

144. Οὖτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἴπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλούς οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώρου τὸν αἰσχίονα ἑλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἢσαν τυφλοί. οὖτος δὴ ὧν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῆ χώρη Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας

κατεστρέφετο.

145. Οὖτος μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσε. τον αὐτον δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιής μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ άπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. των έκ της 'Αργούς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παίδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληισαμένων τὰς 'Αθηναίων γυναίκας, ὑπὸ τούτων έξελασθέντες ἐκ Λήμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ίζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτω πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε ίδόντες άγγελον έπεμπον πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί οὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ώς εἴησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παίδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῆ ᾿Αργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λημνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας. οί δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεής των Μινυέων, πέμψαντες το δεύτερον εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἥκοιέν τε ἐς τὴν χώρην καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν έκβληθεντες ήκειν ές τους πατέρας. δικαιότατον

BOOK IV. 143-145

now he left him behind as his general, at the head

of eighty thousand of his army.

144. This Megabazus is for ever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for his saying—when, being at Byzantium, he was told that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs—that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind; for had they not been so, they would never have chosen the meaner site for their city when they might have had the fairer. This Megabazus, being now left as general in the country, subdued all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians.

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,

γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἄμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἶσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγε σφέας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλίη ἐν τῆ ᾿Αργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οῖ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἤγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

146. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οί Μινύαι έξύβρισαν, της τε βασιληίης μεταιτέουτες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέουτες οὐκ ὅσια, τοῖσι ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι έδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς έρκτήν. κτείνουσι δε τούς αν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ήμέρην δε οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ ὧν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αί γυναίκες των Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, έσελθείν τε ές την έρκτην καί ές λόγους έλθειν έκάστη τῷ έωυτης ἀνδρί. οι δὲ σφέας παρηκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες έξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αὶ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐσῆλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε· πάσαν την είχον έσθητα παραδούσαι τοίσι άνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ένδύντες την γυναικηίην έσθητα άτε γυναίκες έξήισαν έξω, εκφυγόντες δε τρόπω τοιούτω ίζοντο αθτις ές τὸ Τηθηετον.

147. Του δε αὐτου τοῦτου χρόνου Θήρας δ

BOOK IV. 145-147

as (they said) was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their father's people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae ¹ on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their so consenting was that the Tyndaridae ² had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146. But in no long time these Minyae waxed over-proud, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other things unlawful; wherefore the Lacedaemonians resolved to slav them, and they seized and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were native to the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, supposing that the women would deal honestly with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae donned the female dress and so passed out in the guise of women, and having thus escaped once more encamped on Taygetum.

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

² Castor and Polydeuces.

¹ As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaean gulf.

Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος έστελλε ές αποικίην έκ Λακεδαίμονος. ἢν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὖτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι ᾿Αριστοδήμου παισὶ Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλέι. ἐόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην είχε ὁ Θήρας την έν Σπάρτη βασιληίην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν άδελφιδέων και παραλαβόντων την άρχήν, ούτω δη ό Θήρας δεινον ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλ-λων ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῆ Λακεδαίμονι άλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ές τους συγγενέας. ήσαν δὲ ἐν τῆ ιῦν Θήρη καλεομένη νήσω, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστη τῆ αὐτῆ ταύτη, άπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ ᾿Αγήνορος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν τῦν Θήρην καλεομένην προσσχόντι δέ είτε δή οί ή χώρη ήρεσε, είτε καὶ άλλως ήθέλησε ποιήσαι τοῦτο καταλείπει γάρ έν τη νήσω ταύτη άλλους τε των Φοινίκων καὶ δή καὶ τῶν έωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίαρον. οὖτοι έν έμοντο την Καλλίστην καλεομένην έπὶ γενεάς, πρίν ή Θήραν έλθειν έκ Λακεδαίμονος, όκτω άνδρων.

148. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιεύμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἑρκτῆς ἵζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετων, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅκως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῆ γνώμη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρου ἀπογόνους

a descendant of Polynices, through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion) was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of the lineage of Cadmus and an uncle on the mother's side of Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not brook to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would abide no longer in Lacedaemon but sail away to his kinsfolk. There were in the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, descendants of Membliarus the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor, in his search for Europa, had put in at the place now called Thera; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired so to do, he left in this island, among other Phoenicians, his own kinsman Membliarus. These dwelt in the island Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taygetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three fifty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarus, taking with him

έπλωσε, οὔτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ ολίγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης σφέας αὐτοὺς ἑξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίξας Πύργον "Επιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο ἸΙλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῆ δὲ νήσφ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα

ή ἐπωνυμίη ἐγένετο.

149. Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὅιν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὔνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῷ τούτῷ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καί κως τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ' οῦ Αἰγείδαι καλέονται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτη. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῷ φυλῷ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἱδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν ¹ τῶυτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

150. Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταὐτὰ λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραίοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρῖννος ὁ Λίσανίου ἐων Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατόμβην· εἵποντο δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι των πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος

² Literally "sheep-wolf."

¹ Something is obviously lost, συνέβη δέ or the like.

¹ These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.

not all the Minyae but a few only; for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Caucones, whom having driven out of the country they divided themselves into six companies and founded in the land they had won the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium; most of which were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist.

149. But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father therefore said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the stripling got the nickname of Oeolycus,² and it so fell out that this became his customary name. He had a son born to him, Aegeus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up, by the instruction of an oracle, a temple of the avenging spirits of Laïus and Oedipus,³ after which the children lived. Thus it fared also with the children of the Aegidae at Thera.

150. Thus far in my story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest we have only the word of the Theraeans. Grinnus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing an hecatomb from his city; there came with him, among others of his

³ Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.

ό Πολυμνήστου, ἐων γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. χρεωμένω δὲ τῷ Γρίννω τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύη πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων " Ἐγὼ μὲν ὧναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιέειν." ἄμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βίττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὕτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη οὕτε τολμῶντες ἐς

άφανες χρημα άποστέλλειν άποικίην.

151. Έπτὰ δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὖε τὴν Θήρην, έν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ έν τῆ νήσφ πλην ένος έξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε η Πυθίη την ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπείτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ην σφι μηχος, πέμπουσι ές Κρήτην άγγέλους διζημένους εί τις Κρητών ή μετοίκων άπιγμένος είη ές Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δε αὐτην οὖτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ές "Ιτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτη δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρέι τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Κορώβιος, δς ἔφη ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ Λιβύης ές Πλατέαν νήσον. μισθώ δε τουτον πείσαντες ήγον ές Θήρην, έκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί· κατηγησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην δή την Πλατέαν, τον μεν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες όσων δη μηνών, αὐτοὶ δὲ έπλεον την ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περί της νήσου.

152. 'Αποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα.

people, Battus son of Polymnestus, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera inquired of the oracle concerning other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Nay, Lord," answered Grinnus, "I am grown old and heavy to stir; do thou lay this command on some one of these younger men," pointing as he spoke to Battus. No more was then said. But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony

out to an uncertain goal.

151. Then for seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libva. So since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there who had travelled to Libya. These, in their journeys about the island, came to the town of Itanus, where they met a trader in purple called Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven out of his course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea. This man they hired to come with them to Thera; thence but a few men were first sent on shipboard to spy out the land, who, being guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, left him there with provision for I know not how many months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

152. But when they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provision

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¹ The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηῦς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς την Πλατέαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἰ ένιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ της νήσου και γλιχόμενοι Αίγύπτου έπλεον, άποφερόμενοι άπηλιώτη άνέμω καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνευμα, Ήρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες απίκουτο ές Ταρτησσόν, θείη πομπη χρεώμενοι. δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἢν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ώστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὐτοι ὀπίσω μέγιστα δή Έλληνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετά γε Σώστρατον τον Λαοδάμαντος Αίγινήτην τούτω γαρ οὐκ οἶά τε έστι έρίσαι άλλον. οί δε Σάμιοι την δεκάτην των έπικερδίων έξελόντες έξ τάλαντα *ἐποιήσαν*το χαλκήιον κρητήρος 'Αργολικοῦ τρόπον πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοι εἰσί· καὶ ανέθηκαν ές το "Ηραιον, ύποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσούς έπταπήχεας τοίσι γούνασι έρηρεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δε καί Θηραίοισι ές Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153. Οι δε Θηραίοι επείτε τον Κορώβιον λιπόντες εν τῆ νήσω ἀπίκοντο ες τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὡς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύη ἐκτισμένη.
Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ
πέμπειν πάλω λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων
ἀπάντων ἐπτὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ
ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὴ στέλ-

λουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ές την Πλατέαν.

154. Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα

left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whereof the captain was Colaeus, was driven out of her course to Platea, where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provision for a year; they then put out to sea from the island and would have voyaged to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and ceased not till they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came (by heaven's providence) to Tartessus. Now this was at that time a virgin i port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie. The Samians took six talents, the tenth part of their profit, and made therewith a bronze vessel, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all round; this they set up in their temple of Here, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each seven cubits high. This that the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera.

153. As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had founded a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea.

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

¹ That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; cp. 1. 163.

τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ήδη Θηραΐοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναίοι γάρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς όμολογέουσι Θηραίοισι λέγουσι γάρ ούτω. έστι της Κρήτης 'Οαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῆ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς, δς έπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῆ οὔνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτη ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἡ δὲ έπεσελθοῦσα έδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρυιή τη Φρονίμη, παρέχουσά τε κακά καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτη μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οί πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ άναγνωσθείς ύπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον έμηχανατο έπὶ τῆ θυγατρί. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων άνηρ Θηραίος έμπορος έν τη 'Οαξώ τούτον ό Έτέαρχος παραλαβών ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ ἡ μέν οί διηκονήσειν ό τι αν δεηθη. ἐπείτε δη ἐξώρκωσε, άγαγών οἱ παραδιδοῖ τὴν έωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ό δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τη ἀπάτη τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος την ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε παραλαβων την παίδα ἀπέπλεε ως δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος την έξόρκωσιν τοῦ Έτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ές τὸ πέλαγος, άνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

155. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἰσχόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὔνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὡς Θηραῖοί τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι Βάττος δὲ μετωνο-

BOOK IV. 154-155

begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not till now, for the Cyrenaeans tell a wholly different tale of Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He had a motherless daughter called Phronime, but he must needs marry another wife too. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be in very deed a stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was overpersuaded by his wife and devised a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader. one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and took an oath of him that he would do him whatever service he desired; which done, he gave the man his own daughter, bidding him take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being so tricked with the oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently he took the girl and sailed away, and that he might duly fulfil the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her about with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently came to Thera.

155. There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time there was born to him a son of weak and stammering speech, to whom he gave the name Battus, as the Theraeans and Cyrenaeans say; but to my thinking the boy was given some other name, and changed it

¹ That is, the Stammerer.

μάσθη, ἐπείτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπό τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου είνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῆ γλώσση, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύη. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἦνδρώθη οὖτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δέ οἱ χρῷ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Bάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἢλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοίβος᾿Απόλλων

ές Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα,

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσση χρεωμένη " Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἢλθες." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. " 'Ωναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ῆλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφ δυνάμι, κοίη χειρί;" ταῦτα λέγων οὐκὶ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐθέσπιζέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἴχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὖτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι

to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle uttered at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

"Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev'n Phoebus Apollo,

Sends thee to make thee a home in Libya, the

country of sheepfolds,"

even as though she said to him, using our word, "O King, thou askest a voice." But he made answer: "Lord, I came to thee to enquire concerning my speech; but thy answer is of other matters, things impossible of performance; thou biddest me plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get me the power or might of hand for it?" Thus spoke Battus, but the god not being won to give him another oracle and ever answering as before, he departed while the priestess yet spake, and went away to Thera.

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theracans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theracans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently

ποιέωσι άλλο, οπίσω απαλλάσσοντο ές την Θήρην. οί δὲ Θηραίοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῆ γῆ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλώειν εκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ έκτισαν νησον έπὶ Λιβύη κειμένην, τη ούνομα, ώς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ

ίση είναι ή νήσος τη νθν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

157. Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστον συνεφέρετο, ένα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οί λοιποί πάντες ἀπέπλεον ές Δελφούς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε την Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. ή δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε.

αὶ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον, μη έλθων έλθόντος, άγαν άγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ.

άκούσαντες δε τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλωον οπίσω ου γάρ δή σφεας άπίει ο θεος της άποικίης, πρὶν δη ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν έλιπον, έκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον της νήσου τω ούνομα ην "Αζιρις τον νάπαι τε κάλλισται έπ' άμφότερα συγκληίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158. Τοῦτον οἴκεον τὸν χῶρον εξ ἔτεα, εβδόμω δὲ σφέας ἔτεϊ παραιτησάμενοι οι Λίβυες ώς ές άμείνονα χώρον άξουσι, άνέγνωσαν έκλιπείν. ήγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες προς έσπέρην, και τον κάλλιστον των χώρων ίνα διεξιόντες οι Έλληνες μη ίδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι την ώρην της ημέρης νυκτός παρηγον. έστι

not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera.

There the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back; which under stress of necessity they did, and planted a colony in an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

157. Here they dwelt for two years; but as all went wrong with them, leaving there one of themselves the rest voyaged to Delphi, and on their coming enquired of the oracle, and said that they were dwelling in Libya, but that they were none the better off for that. Then the priestess gave them

this reply:

"I have seen Libya's pastures: thine eyes have never beheld them.

Knowest them better than I? then wondrous indeed is thy wisdom."

Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not suffer them to do aught short of colonising Libya itself; and having come to the island and taken again him whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, over against the island which was called Aziris This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, and a river flows by one side of it.

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa,

δὲ τῷ χώρφ τούτφ οὔνομα Ἰρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι ᾿Απόλλωνος εἶπαν "ἸΑνδρες Ἔλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον

οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται."

159. Έπὶ μέν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα, οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, "Ελληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα.

δς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθη γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἶ ποκα φαμὶ μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὔνομα ἢν ᾿Αδικράν, οἱα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ᾿Απρίη τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέι. ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναίοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς օἱρασα χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῆ συμβολῆ. ἄτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρ-

BOOK IV. 158-159

lest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: "Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell; for here is a hole

in the sky." 1

159. Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for seventeen, the dwellers in Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone forth to the colony. But in the time of the third ruler, that Battus who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess admonished all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and dwell in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a new division of lands; and this was the oracle:

"Whoso delayeth to go till the fields be fully divided

Unto the Libyan land, that man shall surely repent it."

So a great multitude gathered together at Cyrene, and cut off great tracts of land from the territory of the neighbouring Libyans. Then these with their king, whose name was Adicran, being robbed of their lands and violently entreated by the Cyrenaeans, sent to Egypt and put themselves in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. Apries mustered a great host of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to the place Irasa and the spring Thestes, and there battled with the Egyptians and overcame them; for the Egyptians had as yet no knowledge of Greeks, and

¹ That is, there is abundance of rain.

ησαν ούτω ώστε όλίγοι τινές αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ές Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ᾿Απρίη ἀπέστησαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

160. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται 'Αρκεσίλεως: ος βασιλεύσας πρώτα τοίσι έωυτου άδελφεοίσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὅ μιν οὖτοι ἀπολιπόντες οίχουτο ές άλλου χώρου της Λιβύης καὶ έπ' έωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἡ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλέεται κτίζοντες δὲ άμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστάσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβιας. μετὰ δὲ 'Αρκεσίλεως ές τους υποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οί δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἡοίους τῶν Λιβύων. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως είπετο φεύγουσι, ές οδ έν Λεύκωνί τε της Λιβύης έγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ έδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οί. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσούτο ώστε έπτακισχιλίους όπλίτας Κυρηναίων ένθαθτα πεσείν. μετά δὲ τὸ τρώμα τοῦτο 'Αρκεσίλεων μεν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ο άδελφεὸς Αλίαρχος ἀποπνίγει, Αλίαρχον δὲ ή γυνη ή Αρκεσίλεω δόλω κτείνει, τη ούνομα ην Έρυξώ.

161. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ 'Αρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλός τε ἐων καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὅντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα αν οἰκέοιεν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς 'Αρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἴτεον ων οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα των ἀστων δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δημῶναξ.

despised their enemy; whereby they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. For this mishap, and because they blamed Apries for it, the Egyptians revolted from him.¹

160. This Battus had a son Arcesilaus; he at his first coming to reign quarrelled with his own brothers, till they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arcesilaus came with an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and these fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arcesilaus followed their flight until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they joined battle and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean men-at-arms were there slain. After this disaster Arcesilaus, being sick and having drunk medicine, was strangled by his brother Haliarchus: Haliarchus was craftily slain by Arcesilaus' wife Eryxo.

161. Arcesilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm on his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in their affliction, sent to Delphi to enquire what ordering of their state should best give them prosperity; the priestess bade them bring a peacemaker from Mantinea in Arcadia. The Cyrenaeans then sending their request, the Mantineans gave them their most esteemed townsman, whose

οὖτος ὧν ὧνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῆδε διαθείς. Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλέι Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς

μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

162. Έπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὕτω διετέλεε ἐόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς ᾿Αρκεσίλεω πολλή ταραχή περί των τιμέων έγένετο. 'Αρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ έφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημώναξ έταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ένθεῦτεν στασιάζων έσσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ή δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. της δε Σαλαμίνος τούτον τον χρόνον επεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, δς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμιητήριον ἐὸν άξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ή Φερετίμη έδέετο στρατιής ή κατάξει σφέας ές την Κυρήνην. ό δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιήν οἱ ἐδίδου. ή δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τούτο είναι, κάλλιον δε έκείνο, το δούναί οί δεομένη στρατιήν. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ έλεγε, τελευταΐον οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων άτρακτου χρύσεου καὶ ήλακάτηυ, προσῆυ δὲ καὶ είριον ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὖτις τῆς Φερετίμης τωυτὸ έπος, ο Ευέλθων έφη τοιούτοισι γυναικας δωρέεσθαι άλλ' οὐ στρατιή.

163. 'Ο δε 'Αρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν

BOOK IV. 161-163

name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learnt all, he divided the people into three tribes; ¹ of which divisions the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; moreover he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but gave all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, to be now held by

the people in common.

162. During the life of this Battus aforesaid these ordinances held good, but in the time of his son Arcesilaus there arose much contention concerning the king's rights. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogative of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was worsted and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him Pheretime came, asking him for an army which should bring her and her son back to Cyrene; but Evelthon being willing to give her all else, only not an army, when she took what he gave her she said that this was well, but it were better to give her an army at her request. This she would still say, whatever was the gift; at the last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool therewith; and Pheretime uttering the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

¹ According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.

εν Σάμφ συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ᾿Αρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίφ περὶ κατόδου. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾳ τάδε. "Ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὰ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῦ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὰ μέντοι ἤσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἡν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὕρῃς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ ἀπόπεμπε κατ οῦρον εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσης τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων." ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ᾿Αρκεσίλεφ χρᾳ.

164. 'Ο δε παραλαβών τους έκ της Σάμου κατήλθε ές την Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τους άντιστασιώτας αἴτεε της έωυτου φυγης. των δὲ οὶ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλάσσουτο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως ές Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορŷ. τούτους μέν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην έρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν έτέρους δὲ τινάς των Κυρηναίων ές πύργον μέγαν 'Αγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ίδιωτικον ύλην περινήσας ό Αρκεσίλεως ενέπρησε. μαθών δε επ' εξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὐρόντα ἐν τῆ καμίνω τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, έργετο έκων της των Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τον κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων αμφίρρυτον την Κυρήνην είναι. είχε δὲ γυναίκα ing all men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus mustering, he made a journey to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle concerning his return. The priestess gave him this answer: "For the lives of four named Battus and four named Arcesilaus, to wit, for eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he counsels you not so much as to essay. But thou, return to thy country and dwell there in peace. But if thou findest the oven full of earthen pots, bake not the pots, but let them go unscathed. And if thou bakest them in the oven, go not into the seagirt place; for if thou dost, then shalt thou thyself be slain, and the bull too that is fairest of the herd." This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus.

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be

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συγγενέα έωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέος, τῷ οὕνομα ἢν ᾿Αλάζειρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καί μιν Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ ᾿Αλάζειρα. ᾿Αρκεσίλεως μέν νυν εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων άμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῦραν

την έωυτοῦ.

165. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἔως μὲν ὁ Αρκεσίλεως ἐν τῆ Βάρκη διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακόν, ἢ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνη καὶ τἆλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῆ παρίζουσα ἐπείτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῆ Βάρκη ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παιδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἢσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου πεποιημέναι οὖτος γὰρ ῆν ὁ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη ᾿Αρυάνδεω ἰκέτις ἵζετο, τιμωρῆσαι έωυτῆ κελεύουσα, προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παις οἱ τέθνηκε.

166. Ὁ δὲ ᾿Αρυάνδης ἢν οὖτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω κατεστεώς, ὃς ὑστέρω χρόνω τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρείω διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρείον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἑωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἴη βασιλέι κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον, ἐς οῦ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, ᾿Αρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τὧυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Αρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δέ μιν

Cyrene. Now his wife was his own kinswoman, daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcesilaus betook himself to Alazir; but men of Barce and certain of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and slew him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law likewise. So Arcesilaus whether with or without intent missed the meaning

of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

165. As long as Arcesilaus, after working his own destruction, was living at Barce, his mother Pheretime held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. But when she learnt of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape away to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcesilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. So on her coming to Egypt Pheretime made supplication to Aryandes, demanding that he should avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes.

166. This Aryandes had been appointed by Cambyses viceroy of Egypt; at a later day he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave such a memorial of himself as no king had ever wrought, Aryandes imitated him, till he got his reward; for Darius had coined money out of gold refined to an extreme purity, and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a like silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandic. But when

¹ The gold coins called δαρεικοί are said to contain only 3 per cent. of alloy.

Δαρείος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενεί-

κας ώς οἱ ἐπανίσταιτο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὖτος ὁ ᾿Αρυάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῆ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου άπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν στρατηγον δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ "Αμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἀνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρίν δὲ ἢ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν, ό 'Αρυάνδης πέμψας ες την Βάρκην κήρυκα επυν-θάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ 'Αρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαίοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα δ 'Αρυάνδης ούτω δη την στρατιήν απέστειλε άμα τη Φερετίμη. αύτη μέν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγίνετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ώς έμοι δοκέειν, έπι Λιβύης καταστροφή. Λιβύων γαρ δή έθνεα πολλά καὶ παντοῖα έστί, καὶ τὰ μεν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἢν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω έφρουτιζε Δαρείου 1 οὐδέν.

168. Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι 'Αδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοίκηνται, οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἵην περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἐκατέρη τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς ἐωυτῆς ἑκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει. οὖτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλέι μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι ἡ δὲ ἀν τῷ βασιλέι ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι

Darius heard that Aryandes was so doing, he put him to death, not on this plea but as a rebel.

167. At this time Aryandes, of whom I speak, took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae admiral of the fleet. But before despatching the host Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to enquire who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; which when he heard, Aryandes then sent his armament with Pheretime. This was the alleged pretext; but, as I myself think, the armament was sent to subdue Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of divers kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects the greater part cared nothing for Darius.

168. Now as concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that dwell nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian usages for the most part, but wear a dress like that of other Libyans. Their women wear bronze torques on both legs; their hair is long; they catch each her own lice, then bite and throw them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and that show the king all virgins that are to be wedded; the king takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases

δὲ οὖτοι οἱ ᾿Αδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου μέχρι

λιμένος τῷ οὔνομα Πλυνός ἐστι.

169. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώρην ¹ μέχρι ᾿Αφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ² ἤ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἢπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμήν ἐστι καὶ Ἦχιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὖτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἑτέροισι.

170. Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ᾿Ασβύσται οὖτοι ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι ᾿Ασβύσται τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύ-

ουσι τούς Κυρηναίων.

171. 'Ασβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι· οὖτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

172. Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων το προς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμώνες, ἔθνος ἐον πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῆ θαλάσση τὰ πρόβατα ἀναβαίνουσι ἐς Αὔγιλα χώρον ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους

him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the

harbour called Plynus.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island Aphrodisias; ere this is reached the island Platea lies off the coast, and on the mainland is the haven called Menelaus, and that Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here begins the country of silphium, which reaches from the island Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its usages.

170. The next people westward of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the sea-coast; for that is Cyrenaean territory. These are drivers of four-horse chariots not less but more than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean usages.

171. Next westward of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the sea-coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae dwells the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their usages are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172. Next westward of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees which grow there in great abundance, and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which when taken they

 $[\]frac{1}{2}$ [χώρην] Stein. $\frac{1}{2}$ [χώρω] Stein.

έπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες πρὸς τὸν ήλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι. γυναϊκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλάς έχειν έκαστος ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεθνται τρόπω παραπλησίω τῶ καὶ Μασσαγέται ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρώτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῆ πρώτη διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην τῶν δὲ ώς ἕκαστός οί μιχθη, διδοί δώρον τὸ αν ἔχη φερόμενος έξ οίκου. όρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντική χρέωνται τοιήδε. ομνύουσι μεν τους παρά σφίσι ανδρας δικαιστάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδη ἐν τῆ ὄψι ένύπνιον, τούτω χρᾶται. πίστισι δὲ τοιῆσιδε χρέωνται έκ της χειρός διδοί πιείν και αὐτός έκ της του έτέρου πίνει ην δε μη έχωσι ύγρον μηδέν, οί δε της χαμάθεν σποδού λαβόντες λείχουσι.

173. Νασαμώσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὖτοι ἐξαπολώλασι τρόπφ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύηνε, ἡ δὲ χώρη σφι ἄπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ῆν ἄνυδρος· οὶ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγφ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῆ ψάμμφ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ

τούτων έχουσι την χώρην οί Νασαμώνες.

174. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῆ θηριά δεϊ οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην, καὶ οὔτε

dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and so drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, in like manner as among the Massagetae; a staff is planted before the dwelling and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones first weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles. They give and receive pledges by drinking each from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid they take of the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this wise: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying within the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. Taking counsel together they marched southward (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their

country.

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no

όπλου ἐκτέαται ἀρήιου οὐδὲυ οὕτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται.

175. Οὖτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Μάκαι, οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὕξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροϊ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κῖνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὖτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησι ἐστί, ἐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδᾶνες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἑκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς λέγεται· κατ᾽ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν πλεῖστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι

ώς ύπο πλείστων ανδρών φιληθείσα.

177. 'Ακτήν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μοῦνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178. Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυες, τῷ λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὖτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὔνομα Τρίτων

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weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175. These dwell inland of the Nasamones; the neighbouring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; they carry in war bucklers made of ostrich skins. The river Cinyps flows into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya whereof I have spoken is bare of trees; it is two hundred furlongs distant from the sea.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leathern anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears most is reputed the best, because she has been loved by most men.

177. There is a headland jutting out to sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it dwell the Lotuseaters, whose only fare is the lotus. The lotus fruit is of the bigness of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the lotus-eaters not only eat it but make wine of it.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the people aforesaid. Their country reaches to a great river

¹ The fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."

ἐστί· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὖτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῆ νῆσος ἔνι τῆ οὔνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. Έστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἰήσονα, έπείτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἡ ᾿Αργώ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, Βουλόμενον ές Δελφούς απικέσθαι. καί μιν, ώς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατά Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γην, έν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης της Τριτωνίδος. καί οι ἀπορέοντι την έξαγωγην λόγος έστι φανήναι Τρίτωνα και κελεύειν τον Ἰήσονα έωυτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δε τοῦ Ἰήσονος, ούτω δη τόν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνά σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσ-πίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἰήσονι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ώς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται των έκγονων τις των έν τη 'Αργοί συμπλεόντων, τότε έκατον πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περί την Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ελληνίδας πάσαν είναι αι άγκην. ταθτα ακούσαντας τους έπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες οῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δέ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἔμπροσθε. ὁρτῆ δὲ ἐνιαυσίη ᾿Αθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα

called Triton, which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to

plant a settlement on this island.

179. The following story is also told:—Jason (it is said) when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put therein besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set forth to sail round Peloponnesus, that he might come to Delphi. But when in his course he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libva; and before he could spy land he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while yet he could find no way out, Triton (so goes the story) appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising so to show the shipmen the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did his bidding, and Triton then showed them the passage out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: to wit, that when any descendant of the Argo's crew should take away the tripod, then needs must a hundred Greek cities be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libvan people of the country hid the tripod.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Ausees; these and the Machlyes, divided by the Triton, dwell on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear the hair of their heads long behind, the Ausees in front. They make a yearly festival to Athene,

¹ The "Triton" legend may arise from the Argonauts' finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (cp. 180) with Athene, one of whose epithets was Τριτογένεια (whatever that means).

διαστάσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενέι θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν ᾿Αθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ αποθυησκούσας των παρθένων έκ των τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρίν δε άνείναι αὐτας μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεύσι κοινή παρθένον την καλλιστεύουσαν έκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε Κορινθίη καὶ πανοπλίη Ελληνική καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα άναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι την λίμνην κύκλω. ότέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ή σφι "Ελληνας παροικισθήναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὧν Αίγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς Έλληνας. τὴν δὲ ᾿Αθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ της Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι έωυτὴν τῷ Διί, τὸν δὲ Δία έωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μεν λέγουσι, μίξιν δε επίκοινον των γυναικών ποιέονται, ούτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον άδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτώσι ές τωυτο οι ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ αν οἴκη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181. Οὖτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέαται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος ὀφρύη ψάμμης κατήκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἐπ' Ἡρακλέας στήλας. ἐν

¹ Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-

whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after their people's manner that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman's child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man's to whom it is most like.

181. I have now told of all the nomad Libyans that dwell on the sea-coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts' land there runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles. After about a ten

fiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.

δὲ τῆ ὀφρύη ταύτη μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων όδοῦ άλος ἐστι τρύφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους έν κολωνοίσι, και έν κορυφήσι εκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ άλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρον καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτον ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ήμερέων όδοῦ ᾿Αμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διός καὶ γὰρ τὸ 1 ἐν Θήβησι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον είρηταί μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τώγαλμα ἐστί. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναίου έου, το του μεν όρθρου γίνεται χλιαρόν, άγορης δε πληθυούσης ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρίη τε έστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν τηνικαῦτα δὲ άρδουσι τους κήπους αποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ήμέρης ύπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὖ δύεταί τε ὁ ήλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ίον ές το θερμον ές μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αύτη ή κρήνη καλέεται ήλίου.

182. Μετὰ δὲ ᾿Αμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι᾽ ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε άλός ἐστι ὅμοιος τῷ ᾿Αμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὔνομα Αὔγιλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183. 'Απὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἔτερος αλὸς κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατά περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ

 $^{^{1}}$ [τb] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.

days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hillocks; on the top of every hillock a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men dwell round it who are farthest away towards the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from that place, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have before said, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines the coldness abates, till at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter till midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler till dawn. This spring is called the spring of the sun.

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hillock of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men dwell; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones are wont to come to gather palm-fruit.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;

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τοίσι ούνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρώς, οὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὕτω σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός έστι έν τοίσι καὶ οί όπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται οπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσί. τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ές τὸ έμπροσθε. διὰ τοῦτο ὁπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται ές γάρ τὸ έμπροσθε οὐκ οἶοί τε είσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ές τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. οί Γαράμαντες δη ούτοι τούς τρωγλοδύτας Αίθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αιθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι άνθρώπων πάντων είσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους άκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄφις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῆ ἄλλη παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι κατά περ αί νυκτερίδες.

184. 'Απὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ήμερέων όδοῦ ἄλλος άλός τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὔνομα ἐστὶ 'Ατάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ήμεῖς ἴδμεν άλέσι μὲν γάρ σφι ἐστὶ 'Ατάραντες οὔνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὔνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὖτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρῶνται καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς άλὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ άλὸς τούτου ὄρος τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ

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BOOK IV. 183-184

men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotuscaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and different to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cavedwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding hot curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape "Ατλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινον καὶ κυκλοτερὲς πάντη, ύψηλον δὲ οὕτω δή τι λέγεται ώς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἰά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὕτε θέρεος οὕτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὅρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο καλέονται γὰρ δὴ "Ατλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν

σιτέεσθαι ούτε ενύπνια όραν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν ᾿Ατλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῆ ὀφρύη κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δ᾽ ὧν ἡ ὀφρύη μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. ἔστι δὲ άλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῆ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων όδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν άλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρα ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ ἃν ἦδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὖε. ὁ δὲ ἃλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρύης τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἰκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῆ οὐδέν.

186. Οὔτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὕτι γευόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὑς οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μέν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιεῦσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτω Ἱσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστηίας αὐτῆ καὶ

whereof is slender and a complete circle; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it a ten days' journey distant from the Atlantes, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt; here begins the part of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt which is dug from this mine is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; nay, they even honour her with fasts and

όρτας έπιτελέουσι· αί δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες

οὐδὲ ύῶν πρὸς τῆσι βουσὶ γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς έσπέρης της Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες είσι Λίβυες οὐδε νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, ούδε κατά τὰ παιδία ποιεύντες οίον τι καὶ οί νομάδες εώθασι ποιέειν. οί γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων υρμάδες, εί μεν πάντες, οὐκ έχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο είπειν, ποιεύσι δε αὐτῶν συχνοί τοιάδε τῶν παιδίων των σφετέρων, έπεαν τετραέτεα γένηται, οίσπη προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῆσι κορυφῆσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δε αὐτῶν τὰς εν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, τούδε είνεκα ώς μή σφεας ές τον πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα έκ της κεφαλής δηλέηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ύγιηροτάτους είσι γαρ ώς άληθέως οι Λίβυες ανθρώπων πάντων ύγιηρότατοι των ήμεις ίδμεν, εί μεν διά τούτο, οὐκ έχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ΄ ων είσί. ην δε καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμός έπιγένηται, έξεύρηταί σφι άκος τράγου γάρ οῦρον σπείσαντες ρύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

188. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἴδε· ἐπεὰν τοῦ ἀτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ριπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίφ καὶ σελήνη μούνοισι. τούτοισι μέν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῆ ᾿Λθηναίη μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρί-

τωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

189. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων

BOOK IV. 186-189

festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads' manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they wring the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from

έποιήσαντο οί "Ελληνες πλην γαρ ή ὅτι σκυτίνη ή ἐσθης τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆσι οὐκ ὄφιες εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τῶυτὸ ἔσταλται. καὶ δη καὶ τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἡκει ἡ στολη τῶν Παλλαδίων αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ελληνες μετωνόμασαν. δοκέει δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὀλολυγη ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι κάρτα γὰρ ταύτη χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ελληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατά περ οἱ Ἑλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων οὖτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπιῆ τὴν ψυχήν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὑπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνειρμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστί, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοισι οὖτοι

χρέωνται.

191. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὕνομα κέεται Μάξυες οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτφ. φασὶ δὲ οὖτοι εἰναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ

² The ὀλολυγή (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship

¹ The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.

the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goatskin bucklers are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these into their "aegis." Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodelstalks 3 twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Ausees begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest

of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu

(which survives in Hallelu-jah).

³ Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer's "asphodel meadow" is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.

χώρη αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῷ θηριωδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἦῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὀρεινή τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεες καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ λέγονταί γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθεϊ πολλὰ θηρία

άκατάψευστα.

192. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, άλλ' άλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οἰκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες ἀλλ' άλλοι άποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρεα τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχεες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δέ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστι), καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαιναι καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι όσον τε τριπήχεες χερσαίοι, τήσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ όφιες μικροί, κέρας εν έκαστος έχοντες ταῦτά τε δη αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τά περ τῆ ἄλλη, πλην ελάφου τε και ύδς άγρίου έλαφος δε και ΰς άγριος ἐν Λιβύη πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. μυῶν εὲ γένεα τριξά αὐτόθι ἐστί οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οί δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οἴνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δε κατ' Έλλάδα γλώσσαν

BOOK IV. 191-192

of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding hilly and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys, jackals and panthers, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild swine; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed, the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

² Clearly, the jerboa.

¹ The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)

βουνοί), οὶ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῷ γινόμεναι τῆσι Ταρτησσίησι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μέν νυν θηρία ἡ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

193. Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν

πόλεμον.

194. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημιοεργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιέειν. μιλτοῦνται δ' ὧν πάντες οὖτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι οἱ δέ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὄρεσι

γίνονται.

195. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κείσθαι νήσον τη ούνομα είναι Κύραυιν, μήκος μεν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δε στεινήν, δια-βατον εκ της ηπείρου, ελαιέων τε μεστην καὶ άμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῆ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αί παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσση έκ της ίλύος ψηγμα αναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθω έκ λίμνης καὶ ύδατος πίσσαν άναφερομένην αὐτὸς έγω ώρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αί λίμναι αὐτόθι, ή δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων έβδομήκοντα ποδών πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἐστί: ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἀκρω μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες καὶ έπειτα αναφέρουσι τῆ μυρσίνη πίσσαν, όδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκου δρωρυγμένον άγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης ἐπεὰν δὲ

and the hairy, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauekes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen. It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

¹ cp. vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.

άθροίσωσι συχνήν, ούτω ές τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὅ τι δ΄ ἂν ἐσπέση ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῆ θαλάσση ἡ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὧν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύη

κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθείη.

196. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους έξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους ές τους έπεαν απίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνον ίέναι έπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναγωρέειν πρόσω άπο των φορτίων. τους δε Καρχηδονίους έκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ην μεν φαίνηταί σφι άξιος ο χρυσός των φορτίων, ανελόμενοι απαλλάσσονται, ην δε μη άξιος, εσιβάντες όπίσω ες τὰ πλοια κατέαται οι δε προσελθόντες άλλον πρὸς ων έθηκαν χρυσόν, ές οδ αν πείθωσι. αδικέειν δε οὐδετέρους οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι πρίν άν σφι άπισωθη τη άξίη των φορτίων, ούτ' έκείνους των φορτίων απτεσθαι πρότερον ή αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

197. Ο ὖτοι μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβυων ονομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μηδων οὕτε τι νῦν οὕτε τότε ἐφροντιζον οὐδέν. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὔ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Λὶθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οἱ δὲ

BOOK IV. 195-197

much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly by the waterline they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the

τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ

καὶ "Ελληνες ἐπήλυδες.

198. Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναί τις ή Αιβύη σπουδαίη ώστε ή 'Ασίη ή Εὐρώπη παραβληθήναι, πλήν Κίνυπος μούνης το γάρ δή αὐτο οὔνομα ή γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῆ ἀρίστη γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔοικε οὐδὲν τῆ ἄλλη Λιβύη. μελάγγαιός τε γὰρ έστι και έπυδρος πίδαξι, και ούτε αύχμου φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὕτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται. ύεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταὐτὰ μέτρα τῆ Βαβυλωνίη γῆ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερίται νέ-μονται· ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς άριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῆ Κίνυπι ἐπὶ τριηκόσια.

199. "Εχει δὲ καὶ ή Κυρηναίη χώρη, ἐοῦσα ύψηλοτάτη ταύτης της Λιβύης την οι νομάδες νέμονται, τρείς ώρας ἐν ἐωυτῆ ἀξίας θώματος. πρώτα μέν γάρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τών καρπών όργα ἀμασθαί τε καὶ τρυγασθαι τούτων τε δή συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ύπερ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργά συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι συγκεκόμισταί τε οδτος ο μέσος καρπός καὶ ὁ ἐν τῆ κατυπερτάτη τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεταί τε καὶ ὀργά, ὥστε ἐκπέποταί τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ό πρώτος καρπός καὶ ό τελευταίος συμπαραγίνεται. ούτω ἐπ' ὀκτω μῆι ας Κυρηναίους ὀπώρη έπέχει. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200. Οι δε Φερετίμης τιμωροί Πέρσαι επείτε έκ της Αιγύπτου σταλέντες ύπο Αρυάνδεω απίκατο ές την Βάρκην, επολιόρκεον την πόλιν

BOOK IV. 197-200

south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most an hundred-fold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaeans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Aryandes from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce, they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

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¹ The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἢν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μέν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὡδε ἐπιφρασθείς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσῖσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἡχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ᾽ ἂν ταύτη οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπε-

κρούοντο οί Βαρκαΐοι.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἣσσον τῶν Περσέων, "Αμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἰρετοὶ εἶεν, δόλω δὲ αἰρετοί, ποιέει τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῆ ἄλλη γῆ ἰσόπεδον. ἄμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὅ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίη χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμιοντες ὅρκια, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ γῆ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλέι καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὅρκιον Βαρκαῖοι

those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus: but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a shield coated with bronze, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsmen.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (but of the Persians more) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the towns-

μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοισι αὐτοί τε ἐξήισαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἴνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὅρκιον ὅσον ἃν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε εἶχε καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

202. Τοὺς μέν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ή Φερετίμη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλω τοῦ τείχεος, τῶν δέ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων ληίην ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέ-

τρεψε ή Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήισαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐπὶ τῆ Κυρηναίων πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναίοι λόγιον τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, "Αμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς ὁ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἰζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέ-

BOOK IV. 201-203

men, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls: but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaeans, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaeans, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder; to these she committed the governance

of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and departed homewards. When they halted at Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they

πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε έξήκοντα σταδια ἵζοντο· ἱδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδω ταύτη ἢλθε παρὰ ᾿Αρυάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Λίγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευον, ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὖτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτω ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἦνδρα-ποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίης χώρης κώμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῆ κώμη ταύτη οὔνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν

οἰκεομένη ἐν γῆ τῆ Βακτρίη.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον,
ἀπέθανε κακῶς: ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε, ὡς
ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς
θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται: ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης
τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη
ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

BOOK IV. 203-205

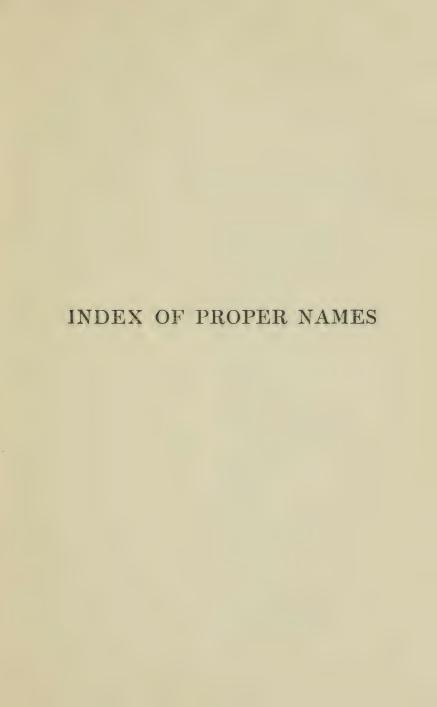
fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there encamped; and presently while they were there a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding them return. The Persians asked and obtained of the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for the sake of their garments and possessions; till at last they came to Egypt.

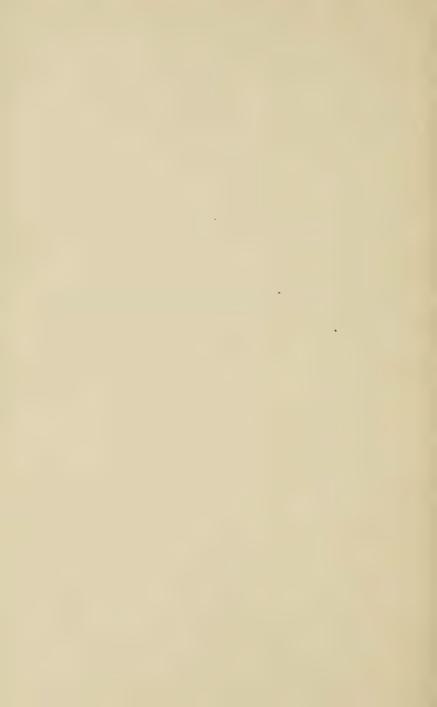
204. This Persian armament advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place

in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no good ending of her life. For immediately after she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem, are the gods with over-violent human vengeance. Such, and so great, was the vengeance which Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the people of Barce.







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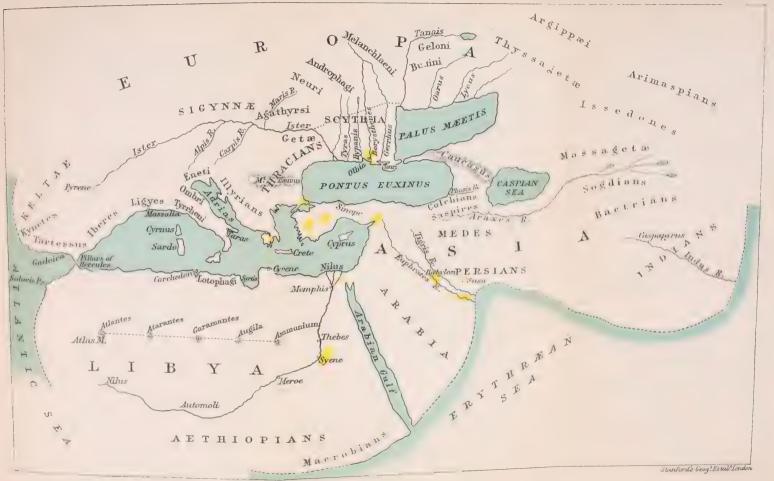
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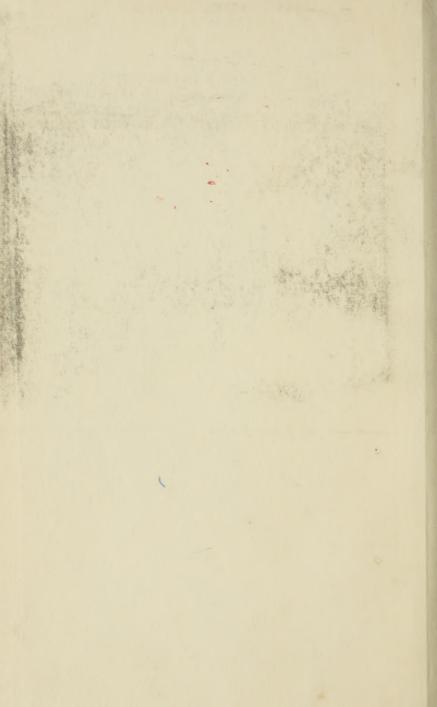
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